Organisation of the Islamic Conference
Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture

سلم الوصول إلى طبقات الفحول

Sullam al-Wuṣūl ilā Ṭabaqāt al-Fuḥūl

(The Ladder of Elevation to the
Lives of the Great and Famous by Generation)

Kātib Chalabi

Vol. 1

Editing & Introduction by
EKMELEDDİN İHSANOĞLU

in Collaboration with
MAHMOUD AL-ARNAOUT & SALEH SADAWI SALEH

Indices by
SELAHADDİN UYGUR

İstanbul 2010

This book is published
Within the framework of the announcement of UNESCO the Year 2009
as the 400th Anniversary of the birth of Kātib Chalabi

FOREWORD

Dr. Halit Eren
Director General, IRCICA

One of the areas of activity of the OIC Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture is the publication of editions of major of manuscript works belonging to Islamic history and culture. The present book is a critical edition of the well-known biographical work *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* by Kātib Chalabi (d. 1657), one of the most important, most original Ottoman scholars of the 17th century.

The area of biography stands out as one of the most prolific areas of Islamic literature. Islamic historians wrote hundreds of books in every branch of biography. While some of these contained the biographies of scholars belonging to specific branches of science or to certain sects, others dealt with the life stories of statesmen, scholars and religious authorities who lived in specific places or in specific periods of time. These kinds of biographies were usually arranged by category and by date. Another type of biographies contained information on important statesmen, scholars, religious figures, authors, artists, etc. having lived in history. This type of general biographies were usually arranged alphabetically. Ibn Khallikān's (d. 1282) Wafayāt *al-A'yān* and al-Ṣafadī's (d.1363) *al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt* are the best examples of such biographies. In addition to these, general and regional Islamic histories recorded annual events and also included the biographies of people having died in that year. In the Ototman period, the first scholar to write a general biography was Tashkoprī-zāda. His work *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniya* included the biographies of Ottoman scholars who had lived until his time. This work was arranged according to categories. Many scholars wrote addenda to this book.

Kātib Chalabi is one of the leading, or the leading personality among thsoe who produced general biographies. Despite his relatively short life he wrote numerous valuable books. His most important and voluminous works are *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* in the field of bibliography; *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* in biography; *Fadhlaka* in general Islamic history and *Djihān-numā* in the field of geography. *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* regarded as the unequalled bibliography in Islamic history of science, and *Djihān-numā, a w*ork on geography, were published numerous times. *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* and *Fadhlaka* have not been published until today.

Taking this into consideration, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture decided to publish *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* under the editorship of its founding Director General Prof. Dr. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, presently Secretary General of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. Kātib Chalabi's draft copy (Shahīd 'Alī Pasha Nr.1887) in the Süleymaniye Library and the copy of the first volume of the fair copy made by the author (Muṣṭafā Fāḍıl, Tarih, Nr.52) at the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo were obtained. A well-known specialist of the field, researcher Mr. Mahmud Arnaut, started working on the project in 1998. By comparing the mansucripts and establishing the differences, he produced the basic text of the book. The latter reached its final form a laborious collaborative work that involved comparisons, filling of gaps by referring to other sources, *Fadhlaka* in the first place, and addition of bibliographic notes.

In this connection, it must be emphasized that Kātib Chalabi's *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* is the most voluminous work written in the Ottoman period on the subject of general Islamic biography. It records the lives and works of important statesmen and scholars in Islamic history and also of renowned personalities from the pre-Islamic period who held a place in Islamic literature, are in alphabetic order. In addition, in the second part of the book, Kātib Chalabi gives information about the personalities' names derived from their places of origin/geneology, their identities, pennames, geographical regions and religious orders. In the prologue, the author explains the method he followed in writing the book, comments on the science of history and addes information on some names derived from places of origin/genealogy. Supplementary information about the contents of the book is given in the epilogue. In this regard, this work is not only a book of biography but also a book of genealogy.

I firstly wish to express my thanks to the editor, Prof.Dr. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, who extended his valuable support and made great efforts for the publication of this book; to Mr. Mahmud Arnaut, to Prof. Dr. Ramazan Şeşen and Dr. Hidayet Y. Nuhoğlu, and particularly to Dr. Salih Sadawi and to Mr. Selahaddin Uygur, who exerted themselves at all stages of the publication.

***

KĀTİB CHALABI AND *SULLAM AL-WUṢŪL*

Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu

UNESCO declared 2009 as "Kātib Chalabi year" on the 400th anniversary of his birth, which was celebrated throughout the world. On this occasion, we are pleased to publish *Sullam al-Wuṣūl*, his second great work following his *magnum opus* titled *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, comprising the most extensive bibliography of Islamic literature. We are glad to share this publication of *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* with academic circles, which is a comprehensive biographical dictionary of Islamic literature. Approximately ten years ago, in planning the activities of IRCICA, we decided to publish the critical edition of a basic reference material on Islamic culture in manuscript form with the purpose of making a major contribution in a new area. Our intention was to publish a text on the cultural heritage of the Ottoman period, which is one of the main headings of the Centre's activities. Thus we selected Kātib Chalabi's hitherto unpublished work *Sullam al-Wuṣūl*.

Undoubtedly Kātib Chalabi was a most significant personality of the seventeenth century, a period of Islamic civilization which did not attract much interest and was characterized until recently as the beginning of the "decline" of this civilization. As an Ottoman intellectual, Kātib Chalabi was unquestionably one of the greatest personalities of his time. Opening up to different cultures in an early period, specifically western culture and science, rightfully placed him among the pioneers who established contact between the East and the West. While Awliyā Chalabi, another important personality of the 17th century, presented all the variety and richness of the wide geography of the Ottoman world in his *Sayāḥat-nāma*, Kātib Chalabi contemporaneously wrote a universal biographical dictionary, thus presenting important evidence that Ottoman culture was maintaining its vitality in this era.[1]

---

[1] Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar characterizes the 17th century as "our classic era" and "the era when our tastes were fully established". For details see: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü*, (Istanbul, 2008), pp. 261, 262; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Beş Şehir*, (Istanbul, 2001), p. 85. For a study that analyzes the 17th century in the light of sources from this era, see: Mehmet Öz, *Kanun-ı Kadîmin Peşinde, Osmanlı'da "Çözülme" ve Gelenekçi Yorumları* (Istanbul, 2005).

Kātib Chalabi died when he was 49 years old; he held an exceptional place in the Ottoman and Islamic literature due not only to the number and variety of works he wrote, but also to the contents and originality of these works. Kātib Chalabi, as the result of his inquisitive mind, questioning intellect, systematic approach and encyclopedic knowledge, produced and presented the world of knowledge with the history and literature of the Islamic civilization and the biographies of important people with a methodogical approach that no one had done until his time. Each of these works attracted the attention and interest of western scholars from an early period and maintained their value to this day as indispensable references in their field.

Kātib Chalabi knew Turkish, Arabic and Persian, the three languages known and termed as *alsina-i thalātha* by the Ottomans. He compiled his works knowledgeably and skillfully and was able to benefit from sources written in these three languages. He not only used his own native language Turkish to a great extent but could express himself with ease in the other two languages when necessary. Kātib Chalabi's preference of language for the compiled and translated works shows us the aim of his own works and his target readers. In examining the list of his works one can see the rationale for his preferred language.

In addressing the elite of Ottoman society and the administrative class of the state, Kātib Chalabi wrote his works in Turkish. His important geographical works and those that expressed his views about the state and society, also his works on the history of the European and Ottoman worlds written in Turkish are examples of this reasoning. In preparing these books, Kātib Chalabi took the native language of the group he was addressing and the official language of the state, Turkish, as his basis in preparing the books to inform them about their history or the history of their rivals, as well as the world history and geography by utilizing contemporary sources which contained new information. He availed himself of Persian works to a large extent, but did not write in this language. On the other hand, in addressing the scholars and intellectuals who belonged to different nations or ethnic groups that were part of the Ottoman geography as well as those living outside this geography, Kātib Chalabi preferred to write in Arabic. In addition to *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* and *Sullam al-Wuṣūl,* the work which is known as *Fadhlakat al-Tawārīkh* - or to give its full name, *Fadhlakatu Aqwāl al-Akhyār bi 'Ilm al-Tārīkh wa al-Akhbār* - and the work known as *Tārīkh-i Kabīr,* which is concerned with the history of the world from the creation of the universe until 1051/1641, are important examples of such choices in language.[2] In as much as the three encyclopedic works by Kātib Chalabi that were compiled in Arabic have provided great services to the scholars of the world, the author of these three

[2] The part of the Arabic *Fadhlaka* which is concerned with the Ottomans was prepared by the Egyptian scholar, Seyyid M. Seyyid from Egypt, and published in 2009 among the TTK publications.

indispensable sources in Islamic literature deserves to be one of the names at the zenith of Islamic cultural history.[3]

Kātib Chalabi presented us with an outstanding bibliography in *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* which contains information about approximately 15,000 books. He prepared a matching work concerned with biographies, which he called *Sullam al-Wuṣūl ilā Ṭabaqāt al-Fuḥūl* (The Ladder of Elevation to the Lives of Great and Famous by Generation). Only a limited number of people have been able to make use of this work, which until today only existed in manuscript form. We are now presenting the critical edition of this important work, which we have been preparing since 1998, to the benefit of researchers.

This biographical dictionary contains 8561 biographies. In the first part, biographies according to the persons's names are recorded systematically while the second part mentions their *laqab* (pennames), *nisba* (name derived from their place of residence) or *kunya* (patronymic). At earlier dates, this important work was mentioned in general while it was examined more specifically by Orhan Şaik Gökyay. Apart from one or two academic works on the subject of *Sullam al-Wuṣūl*, it has has not been carefully examined.[4] In 1957 and 1994 the idea to produce *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* as a facsimile was considered but not realized.[5] Until today there has been no attempt in Turkey or elsewhere to publish a critical edition of this work. In this regard, the publication of *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* by IRCICA is significant as an expression of our modest efforts and contribution to Ottoman studies. Long and painstaking work was required to prepare the author's manuscript for publication and the work in its present state was produced with the contributions of numerous colleagues.

Kātib Chalabi mentions *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* while giving his own biography in *Mīzān al-Ḥaqq*. About the work he says "In sixty-one to sixty-two (1061-1062/1651-1652), when the first volume of the biographic book known as *Sullam*

---

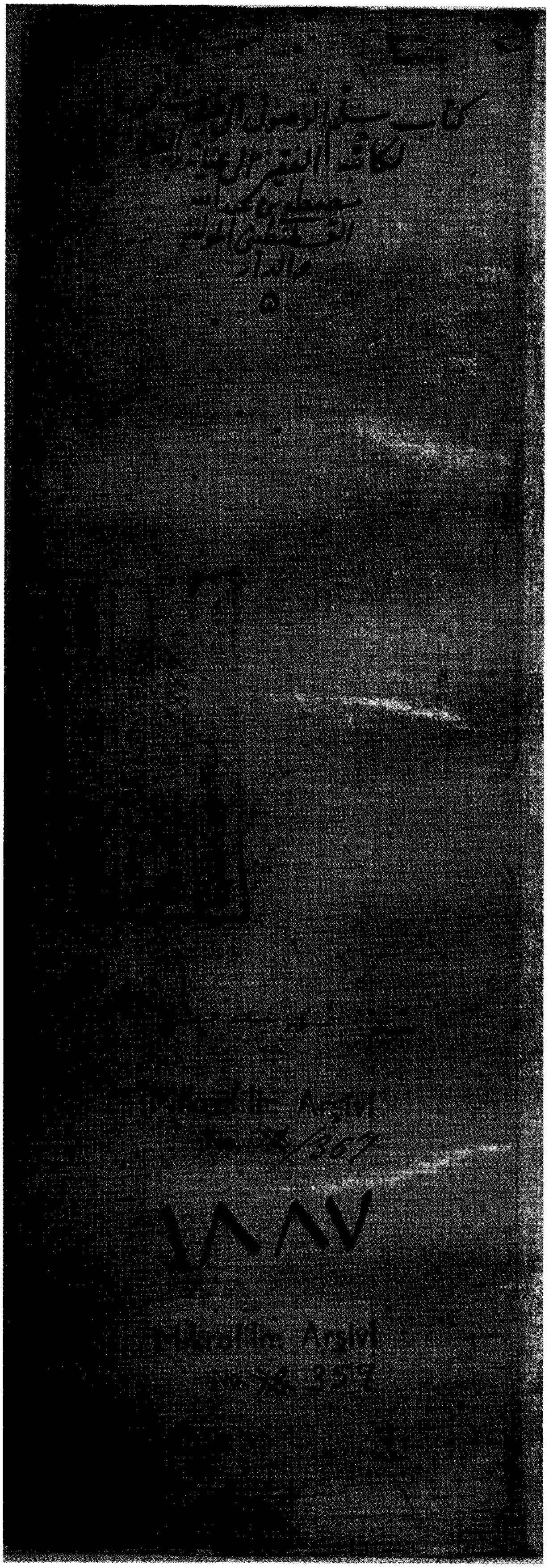
[3] Ottoman scholars generally knew these three languages *(alsina-i thalātha)* well and in addition to works in their own language, wrote works in Arabic and Persian. Moreover as at the beginning Ottoman literature was under the influence of Persian literature, Ottoman scholars who wanted to advance in the field of learning and literature and understand the written works well, had to be familiar these three languages. In fact, sultans like Fatih (Mehmed II) Bayezid II, Selim I, and Süleyman the Magnificent were fluent in these three languages. There were sultans who could recite poetry in Persian. Selim I has a *diwan* in Persian. Many Ottoman scholars wrote in two or three of these three languages. For example, Qāḍī-zāda and 'Alī Qushī wrote books in Persian and Arabic, Muğammad b. Kātib Sinān and Muṣṭafā b. 'Alī al-Muwaqqit, Qinali-zāda, al-Birgiwī, and Abī al-Su'ūd wrote in Turkish and Arabic. Mīrim Chalabi, Ibn Kamāl and Fuēūlī wrote works in all three languages.

[4] Two studies can be referred to on this subject:

a- Eleazer Birnbaum, "Kātib Chelebi (1609-1657) and Alphabetization: A Methodological Investigation of the Autographs of his *Kashf al-Zunūn* and *Sullam al-Wusūl*", *Scribes et manuscripts du Moyen-Orient* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale du France, 1997), pp. 235-263.

b- Houria Yekhlef, *Kātip Çelebi ve Süllemü'l-Vusūlü,* (unpublished, PhD thesis), Ankara University, Institute of Social Sciences, 1997.

[5] For detailed information, see: *Kâtip Çelebi, Hayatı ve Eserleri Hakkında İncelemeler,* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1957, p. 2; Eleazer Birnbaum, op.cit., p. 248n.



al-Wuṣūl ilā Ṭabaqāt al-Fuḥūl reached to the letter *tā*, a fair copy was made. The history of great men (old and new) is written in the aforementioned book." [6] *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* basically consists of a *Muqaddima* (introduction), two main parts, and a conclusion. The main parts are separated into *bāb* (sections), according to the letters of the alphabet. As recorded at the end of this part, the second part was completed in 1053/1643. At the end of the subjects under the name of "*al-fawā'id*", which were added later, Kātib Chalabi indicates that the additions were completed in 1057/1647.

The Copies of Sullam al-Wuṣūl

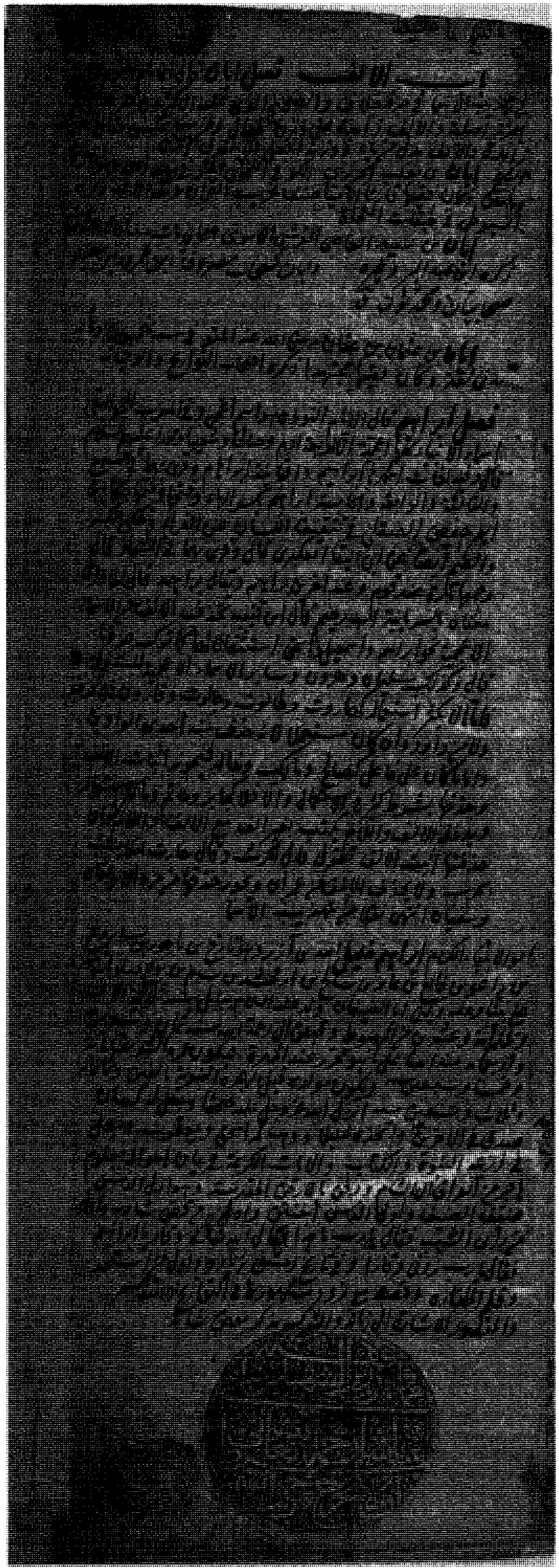
There are two extant copies of *Sullam al-Wuṣūl.* The first one is the author's manuscript and a complete copy, except the missing *Muqaddima* (Introduction). It is in Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Shahīd 'Alī Pasha collection, no. 1887. The second is an incomplete copy that covers the text from the beginning to the item on Bukhtunnaṣr (بختنصر) and it is located in the Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pasha Collection in Cairo National Library, History, no. 52. In order to clarify the differences between the texts of the two copies in our publication, the original author's copy is referred to as الأصل, while the Cairo copy is referred to as م.

The Author's Copy, Shahīd 'Alī Pasha No. 1887

It has a dark cherry colored leather binding with a *shamsa* (sunburst) and *zencirekli* (chain design); there are 577 folios, measuring 10x24 cm. (various inner dimensions and various numbers of lines). This work has no *Muqaddima* (Introduction). The following expression in the author's handwriting is found on the title page:

كتاب سلم الوصول الى طبقات الفحول
لكاتبه الفقير الى عناية ربه القدير
مصطفى بن عبدالله
القسطنطني المولد
والدار

[6] *Mīzān al-Ḥaqq,* Istanbul, 1281, p. 125.



Istanbul Copy

The copy is arranged in quires *(kurrāsas)* and there is a serial number at the top of the first page of each quire. However, only the first thirty-two quires are numbered in this consecutive manner. The numbers show that the first two quires are missing. Each quire consists of five or six folios measuring 20x24 cm. folded in two and placed within one another, thus making a quire of 10-12 folios. The author numbered the first 5-6 folios of this quire as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 at the top of the pages. As the second five or six folios are the continuation of the first ones, they have not been numbered. It is noteworthy that in this copy there are three different numbering systems on the upper part of the folios. Out of these three systems, we believe that the numbers at the top of the upper left corner of the page were written by Kātib Chalabi himself. This numbering only appears between the folios 83^a and 96^a, not on the whole text. Other than these, there are two sequential numberings from the beginning to the end. It is quite obvious that this sequential numbering was carried out by librarians at a later date. The ones in Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3...) start on the title page and end on page no. 578. The Hindu numerals (١، ٢، ٣...) start after the second folio on which Bāb al-Alif is found and also end on page 578. The librarian who used the Hindu numerals skipped a number after page 271 and recorded the following page as 273, rather than 272, thus eliminating the difference between the pages. The numbering system used by Kātib Chalabi and those subsequently used by the librarians led to a difference of ten folios, which is explained by the loss of the two quires each consisting of five folios. In preparing this work for publication, the above mentioned Arabic numeration was taken as the basis.

More evidence confirming that two of the quires which comprised part of the *Muqaddima* have been lost, is that the folio containing the title page, the reverse of which is blank, has been later inserted into the first quire as a single folio. In our opinion, the manuscript copy must have entered the Shahīd ʻAlī Pasha collection in this condition, because the stamp of Shahīd ʻAlī Pasha *Waqf* is at the bottom of the first folio that comes right after the title page. This is clearly seen. Of the numbers on the folio given by the author, the one that starts at the first section is equivalent to eleven. As is understood there was a *Muqaddima* at the beginning of the copy. There is a stamp from Shahīd ʻAlī Pasha on folio 2^a and 575^b which reads

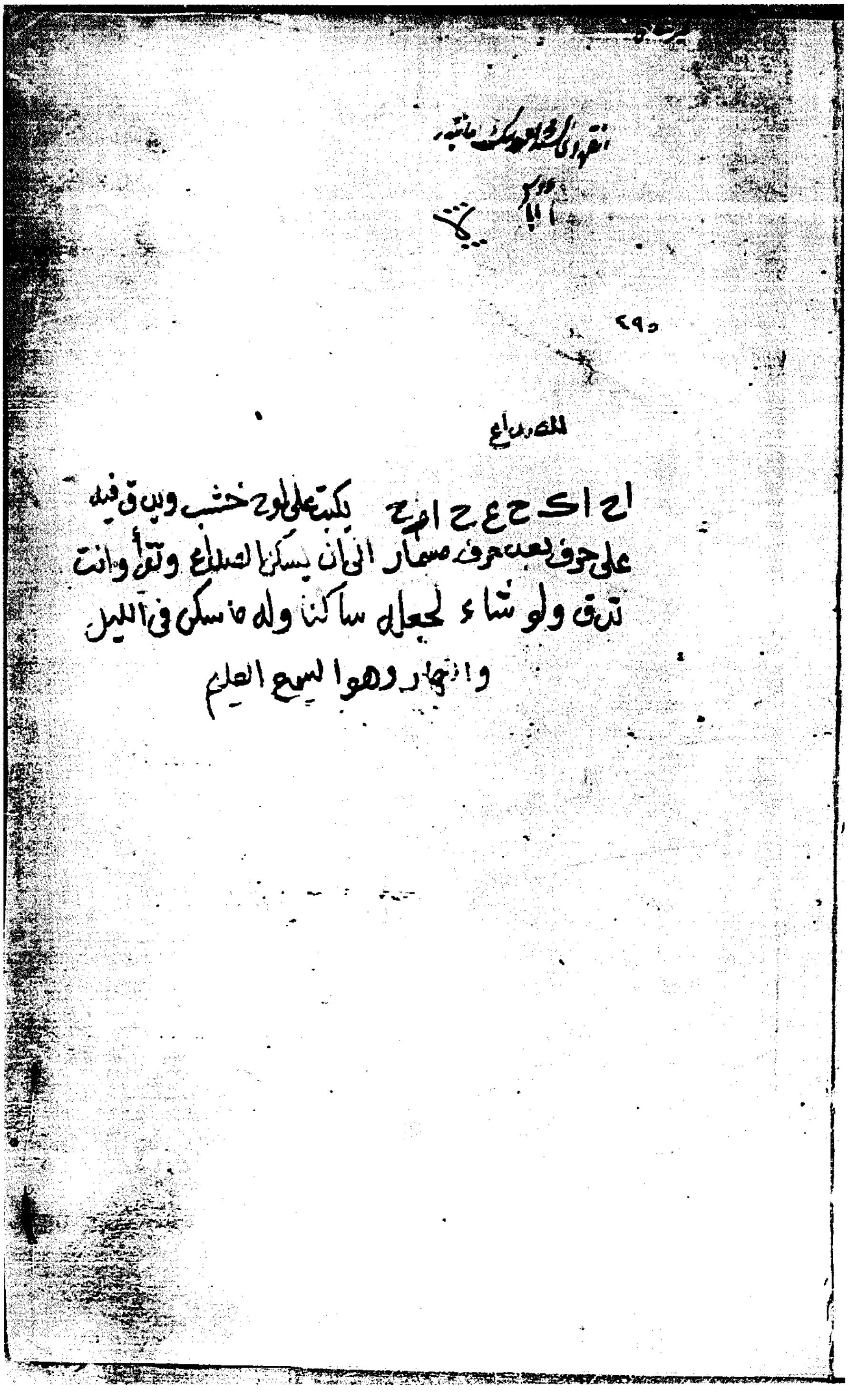
"مما وقف الوزير الشهيد علي پاشا رحمه الله تعالى بشرط أن لا يخرج من خزانته ١١٣٠"

As Shahīd ʻAlī Pasha died in 1128 (1716), this seal must have been stamped two years after his death in 1718. The pages beginning with the letter *alif* until the letter *tā* (ت), are full. This section ends on folio 67^b. In this section, the text is almost in its final form. As expressed in the above quotation by Kātib Chalabi, this section comprises the final draft of the first volume. In addition, the symbols that are placed above the titles of the other items in the work, indicating the sources, are not found in this section. In this section, some of the slips that were

pasted on by the author after folio 25^{b} were lost; thus biographies no 476-483, according to the serial numbers given in our publication are missing. The *ta'qība* (a word written at the bottom of the page which is the first word of the subsequent page) on the aforementioned folio which belongs to biography no. 476 verifies this. The missing biographies, no. 476-483, can be found in the Cairo copy. After folio 66^{a}, come the barely or half-written titles. Some biographies remain only as titles. The symbols which indicate the sources are placed from this point onwards. Some of the biographies in this part have been filled in, their sources quoted at the end, and the symbols at their top have been crossed out. In filling in the items, if the remaining space was not enough, the margins were used and slips with additions were pasted on. Later, some of these slips fell off; the slips that were found have been attached to a variety of pages and their related items were indicted in pencil by an expert who was knowledgeable about this subject. There are *ta'qība* at the bottom of pages 22^{b}, 23^{b}, 25^{b}, 26^{b}, and 27^{b}. The words of these *ta'qība* are the same as the first word on the following page. In addition, numerals were used with the same purpose as the *ta'qība*. For example, at the bottom of folio 32^{b} is number 1, at the bottom of 33^{b} is number 2, at the bottom of 34^{b} is number 3, at the bottom of 35^{b} is number 4, at the bottom of 36^{b} is number 5, at the bottom of 43^{b} is number 2, at the bottom of 44^{b} is number 4, at the bottom of 45^{b} is number 5, at the bottom of 47^{b} is number 6, at the bottom of 52^{b} is number 1, at the bottom of 53^{b} is number 2, at the bottom of 54^{b} is number 3, at the bottom of 55^{b} is number 4, and at the bottom of 56^{b} is number 5. The same number can be found at the beginning of the following page. In the second part there are small circles or numbers in the margins. What they indicated could not be understood.

Cairo Copy

The manuscript was most probably copied in the 19th century and this copy is located in the Cairo National Library, Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pasha Collection, History, no. 52; it consists of 114 folios in the *naskh* script and measures 17.5x28.5 (10x25) cm. with 29 lines to each page. It contains the *Muqaddima*. This manuscript ends in the middle of the Bukhtunnaṣr item, which is found in the author's manuscript on folio 59^{b}. The pages beyond this are blank. The manuscript contains 1,044 biographies. Additionally biographies no. 476-483 which are missing in the author's copy are found here. However, biography no. 983, which is present in the author's copy, is missing in the Cairo copy. Although the calligraphy of the copy is easy to read, there are quite a few spelling mistakes. The additions in the margins, the notation of the dates, and some numbers indicating the dates of death, also some Persian couplets are missing. Moreover, in the margins of the Cairo copy, in folios 1^{b} through 2^{a}, there are some notes that end with the word منه.



اح اك ح ع ح ام ح يكتب على لوح خشب ويدق فيه
على حرف بعد حرف مسمار الى ان يسكن الصداع وتقرأ وانت
تدق ولو شاء لجعله ساكنا وله ما سكن في الليل
والنهار وهو السميع العليم

The first page of the work in Cairo National Library, Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pasha Collection, History, No. 52



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم تسليما كثيرا
الحمد لله الذي خلق الانسان فهدى، وشرفه بالنطق والادراك ولم يترك سدى
رفع طبقات الابرار ووضع منزلة من طغى واعتدى، والصلاة والسلام على افضل
من جا بالحق والهدى، وعلى آله واصحابه نجوم الفلاح والاهتدا … فلا
يخفى ان الله تعالى جعل العلم فخرا باقيا على مر الدهور والاعصار، وذخرا نافعا
الى دار القرار، يمتد اليه اعناق الاذهان كل زمان ومكان، ولا يكسد سوقه
متيا قام واينما كان، ومن المعلوم ان التاريخ من انفع العلوم، اذ هو كما قيل
نوع من المعاد، واحيا لما اندرس من رسوم البلاد والعباد، سيما علم الوفيات
فانه من جملة الواجبات، لان الناس على طبقات مختلفة، ومراتب فيه مؤتلفة
حتى انتهى التفاوت الى ان عُد الف بواحد، فمنهم من اعتلى الى ان التحق بالملا
الاعلى ومنهم من تسفل الى طبيع الجسم الجامد، وعن عايشة رضي الله عنها انها
قالت امرنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان ننزل الناس منازلهم بهذا
والجاهل بعلم الرجال راكب عميا، خابط خبط عشوا، ينسب الى من تقدم اخبار
من تاخر، ويعكس ذلك ولا يتدبر، لكن الكتب فيه بين اسهاب وايجاز، واطلاق
الوفيات على كثير منها مجاز، ولما كثر عندي عددها وعُددها، واجتمع لدي
اسبابها وسندها اردت ان اجمع من جملتها كتابا وسطا على وفق خير الامور
بحذف الزوايد واثبات المهم من الفوايد مع الحاق فوايد يقف دونها
الفحول ويجذب اليها الاذهان والعقول، فاني جمعت فيه اساطين
الاوايل والاواخر، وبذلت جهدي في بيان مبهمات الاسما والانساب
فلم اغادر حسبما يقتضيه الحال من التفصيل والاجمال، ورتبته على حروف
اسما الاشخاص واسما ابايهم كما هو الواجب فيه، وكذا الانساب والالقاب
في القسم الذي يليه باعتبار الخط دون اللفظ والاصل فانه محسوس بديهي
بالقياس اليهما عند العقل، وسميته بعد ان اتممته سلم الوصول
الى طبقات الفحول مشتملا على مقدمة وقسمين وخاتمة وما اردت

The first page of the text of Sullam al-Wuṣūl in the Cairo copy

Comparison between the Two Copies

By comparing the author's manuscript and the Cairo copy, it will possible to find some clues as to how Kātib Chalabi prepared this work. Despite the fact that the Cairo copy consists of only a small section of the work, namely it does not include all of what Kātib Chalabi classified as the first volume, it is extremely important that it does contain the *Muqaddima*, which is not found in the author's manuscript.

Now, let us try to understand how the work was prepared by Kātib Chalabi and how the two extant copies managed to survive until today by making some comparisons between the two copies and making various assumptions.

The fact that the author's copy does not have a *Muqaddima* whereas the Cairo copy has one brings a number of possibilities to mind. The first of these is that the scribe who wrote the Cairo copy prepared his own copy using the author's draft found in the Shahīd 'Alī Pasha collection before the first two quires at the beginning had been lost. For this to be possible, the Cairo copy must have been made at a time when the Shahīd 'Alī Pasha copy was complete and before the two sections had been removed. The second possibility that comes to mind is that the scribe of the Cairo copy saw and used the author's copy before it entered the Shahīd 'Alī Pasha collection.

As the author's copy entered the Shahīd 'Alī Pasha collection not later than the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century and the Cairo copy was most probably copied in the 19th century, after carefully examining the differences in the texts of the two copies these two possibilities will be found to be invalid; rather as Kātib Chalabi himself stated, we can assume that the author prepared another fair copy in addition to the draft copy that is presently at the Süleymaniye Library.

When the Cairo copy is carefully examined, it will be seen that the additions made in the margins of the author's copy, the notation of dates, as well as the death dates for the biographies which were written in numerals indicating the months and days and the Persian poetry are all missing. From this, it can be assumed that the scribe who made the Cairo copy did not take these matters into account, or these were not present in the individual volume, namely the fair copy written by Kātib Chalabi; what he called the "first volume". As we have just indicated, in the light of our findings to date, the assumption that these additions were later added to the draft copy by the author is clearly an accurate choice.

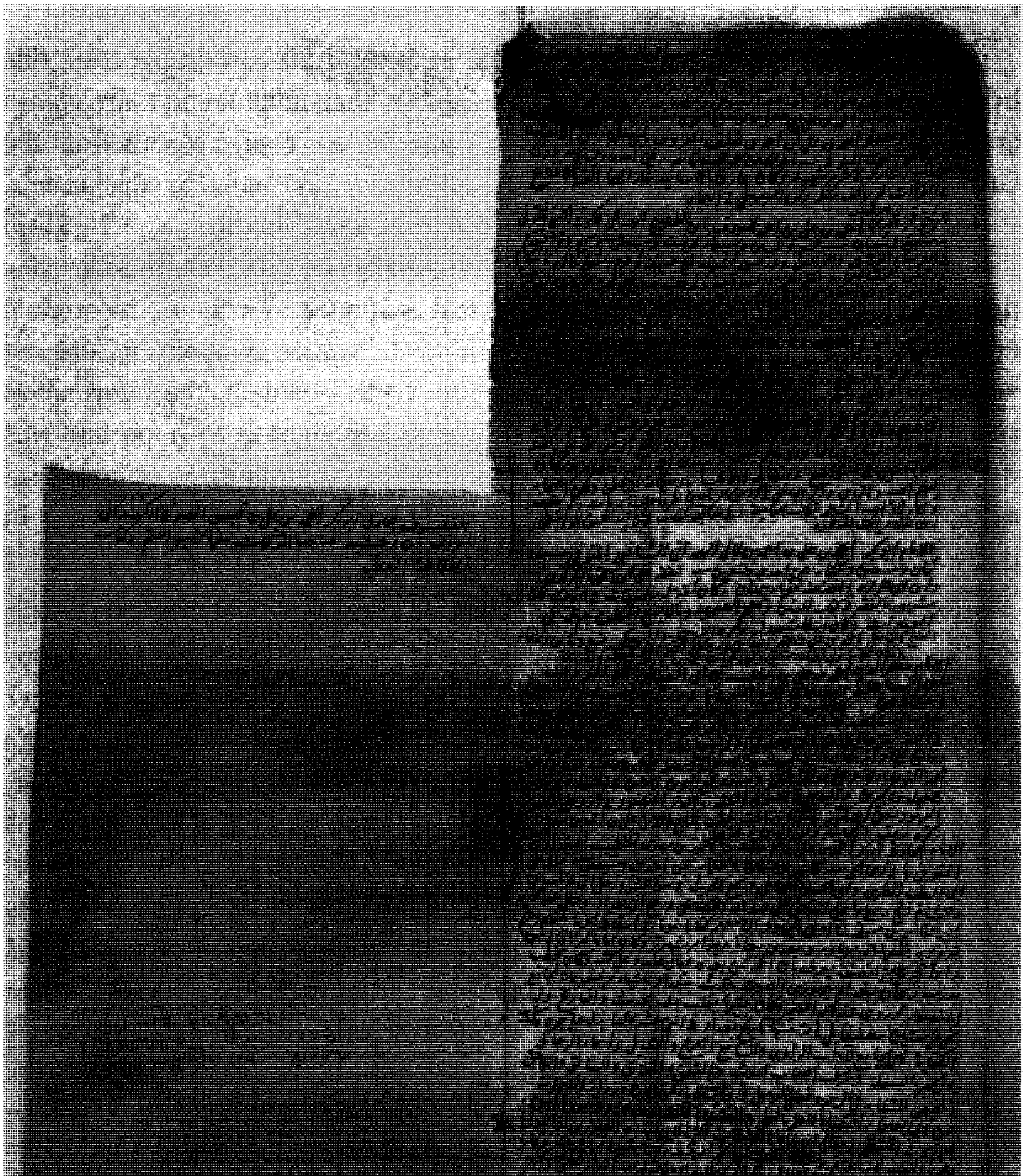
The fair copy is described by Kātib Chalabi in his own biography in the work titled *Mīzān al-Ḥaqq* as "In sixty-one to sixty-two (1061-1062/1651-1652), when the first volume of the biographic book known as *Sullam al-Wuṣūl ilā Ṭabaqāt al-Fuḥūl* reached the letter *tā*, a fair copy was made. The history of great men (old and new) is written in the aforementioned book." The scribe who made the Cairo

copy started from the introduction and copied until what is item Bukhtunnaṣr (بختنصر) No.1058 in our publication but could not continue.

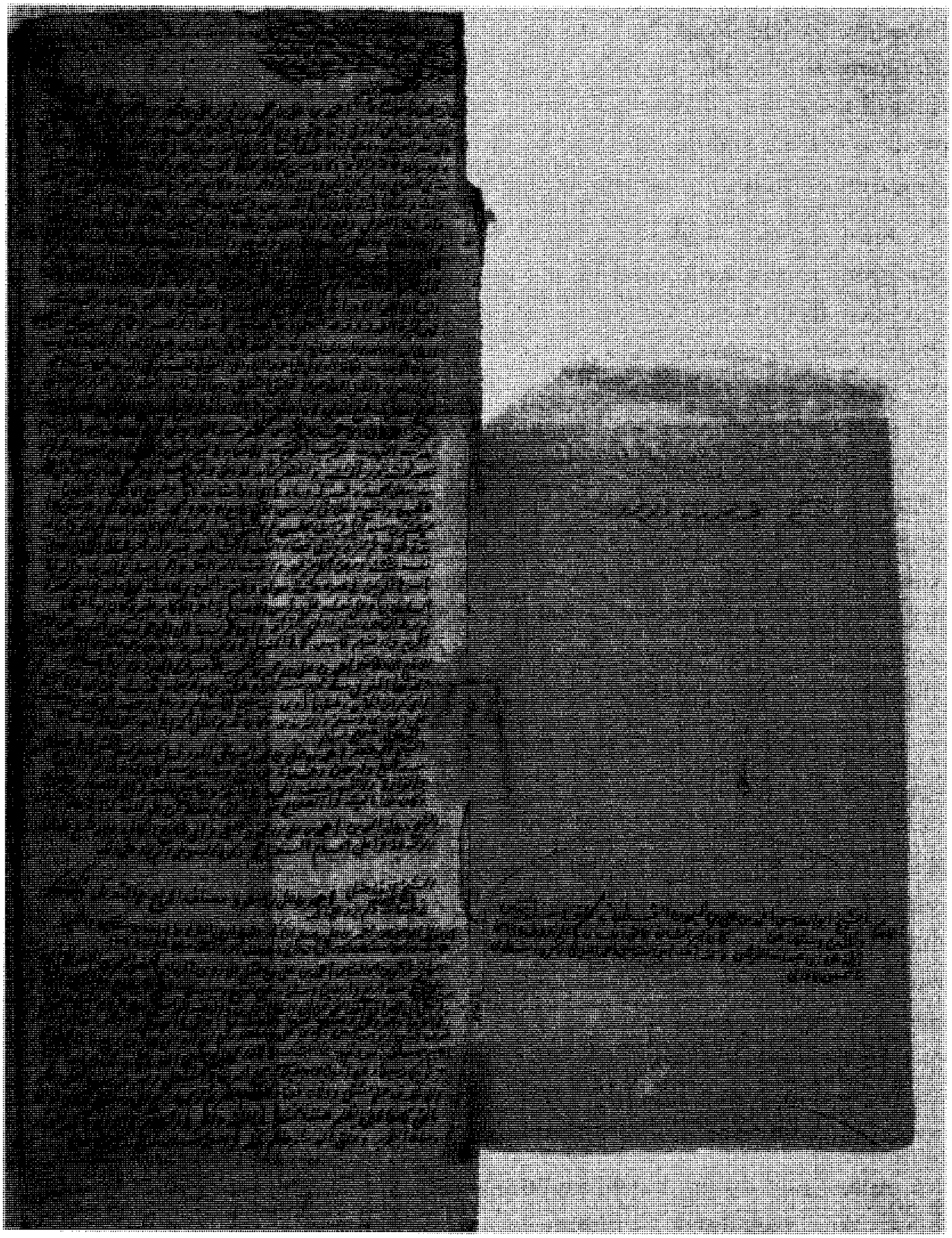
When the Cairo copy is examined, the back of the last written folio 114[b] (page 228) and the following pages are found to be blank. It is clear that the copier was planning to fill in these pages from the lost fair copy.

An important piece of evidence in the author's draft copy supporting this hypothesis is Item No. 970 *Aflāṭūn* on folio 53[b]. As the Istanbul and Cairo copies are examined, it may be assumed that this biography was copied exactly from the fair copy of *Sullam al-Wuṣūl,* which we presume was made by the author. However, the information inserted later in the margins of the draft copy by Kātib Chalabi is not found in the Cairo copy. It seems that he put aside the fair copy that was prepared in 1061-1062/1651-1652 and continued to work on the original draft; he also filled in the unwritten items and the source symbols and did not neglect to add the relevant extra information. In this context, the information about the item on *Aflāṭūn* that he found later and thought to be important was written in the margin of the related item. However, as this extra information, extra biographies and other extra notes (couplets, etc) had not been included in the fair copy; they do not appear in the Cairo copy.

There are eight biographies in the Cairo copy (numbers 476-483) which are not found in the author's draft copy; most likely these were attached to the copy by the author on slips of paper and after the fair copy was made they were either removed or were lost (the slips attached to folios 26[b] and 27[a]). In the author's draft, al-Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit b. Aḥmad b. Mahdī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's biography (No.475) is on folio 26[b], however, the slips attached on the following folio 27[a] were lost. For this reason the serial number of the first of the eight biographies, that of al-Shaykh al-Imām Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Saʿīd al-Marwazī No. 476 in the Cairo copy can be verified by the *ta'qiba* at the end of folio 26[b]. In comparing the two copies, it should be taken into account that the biography of one of the members of the Ottoman *'ulamā* Ilyās b. al-Shaykh Madjd al-Dīn 'Isā al-Akkhiṣārī al-Bayrāmī al-Djaffār, No. 983, is not found in the Cairo copy. When the author's copy is examined carefully, it will be seen that this biography was later inserted in the empty spaces by the author. We are of the opinion that all these examples and other similar clues lead us to conclude that there is a fair copy of the first volume copied out by Kātib Chalabi and the Cairo copy was based on this copy. We hope that this will come out one day. We may easily say that Kātib Chalabi worked on and made additions to the draft copy that is located in the Shahīd 'Alī Pasha collection until the time of his death.



Folio 26b



Folio 27a

In the Author's draft, 8 biographies numbers 476 to 483, that were added by the author on slips of paper between folios 26b and 27a, were lost. These biographies were completed from the Cairo copy

The Method Used in the Compilation of *Sullam*

We are of the opinion that Kātib Chalabi prepared this work in parallel with *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* and tried to give general outlines of the biographies of rulers, members of the *'ulamā* (*tafsir* scholars, *ḥadīth* scholars, *fiqh* scholars, *kalām* scholars), Sufis, authors, poets, historians, wise men, physicians, etc., in Islamic history who had lived until his time, as well as the biographies of Prophet Muḥammad, the Ṣaḥāba (Companions) and famous personalities of the ancient times before the advent of Islam. This unprecedented work covered a wide expanse of time and geography and was based on sources written in the *alsina-i thalātha;* in Arabic, Turkish and Persian.

Kātib Chalabi who was a scholar with a very good command of *alsina-i thalātha,* which was an important characteristic of Ottoman intellectuals, benefited from this advantage. He compiled his books in Turkish and Arabic. Persian phrases and couplets were used from time to time. When writing *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* he used sources in all three languages and even made use of works in Latin. There are about 8,561 biographies in this work. A biography book of this volume and scope had not been written in Ottoman history before Kātib Chalabi. Until his time, such works generally included the people from the literature of a single language. As Kātib Chalabi summarized the literature of three languages in *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* he summarized the biographical literature of the three languages in this work. As he was very proficient in *alsina-i thalātha,* he was able to search and study the literature for many years and added countless number of personal findings and notes in both of his works.

As we expressed before, the work consists of a *Muqaddima,* and the first and second parts as well as a conclusion. Kātib Chalabi recorded two dates in his work. The first is the date "1053, Qadr gecesi" (The Night of Power, the 27th day of Ramadan) 9 December 1644, indicating the date of the completion of the second part; the second is the date "أواخر ذي الحجة ١٠٥٨ January 1649" in the colophon lines at the end of the *Khātima* (conclusion) announcing the completion of the work. Although there is no clear information about when he started to compile the work, his autobiography at the end of the first part gives us a clue. A probability that comes to mind is that he started working on *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* at an early age; because in the autobiography he recorded his life from his birth in 1017/1609 until the death of his father in 1035/1626.

Apparently Kātib Chalabi prepared *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* over a period of many years. We understand that after preparing the framework, he continued to compile the biographies and later worked on the introduction and conclusion. In comparing the Cairo and Istanbul copies, as stated above, it maybe said that after finishing the second part in 1053 and the conclusion in 1058, the part that was designed as the first volume was copied into a final draft in 1061/1602; meanwhile he continued to make additions to the original draft. It is understood

that the author died before making the final draft. A century later, Mustaqīm-zāda (d. 1788) completed what was missing from *Sullam al-Wuṣūl*, compiling it in a work called *Madjallat al-Niṣāb*. The *kunya, nisba* and *laqab* were all brought up to date.[7] However, his book is not as detailed or meticulous a study as *Sullam al-Wuṣūl*.

Kātib Chalabi starts the introduction to this wide-ranging biographical dictionary by stating why and how the work was prepared and his intention in compiling it. He states in a very succinct language that knowledge is a source of pride that exceeds the eras and a spiritual wealth that continues until eternity, as well as a source of interest for minds in every era and location. Meanwhile he discloses that after he finished writing, he named it سلم الوصول إلى طبقات الفحول. Kātib Chalabi states that this encyclopedic work, in the preparation of which he labored and spent many years, has a moral aim and he is honored by the blessed and good people whose biographies he has presented here; and may God grant him leave to follow the road on which these people trod. Kātib Chalabi, who never missed an opportunity to read and study a great variety of historical and biographical books throughout his life speaks about this work that took him many years to complete: "As the relevant materials in my hand about the deaths and biographies accumulated and my preparations expanded, I desired to write a book of medium size by discarding excesses and taking those that were important and beneficial from these materials and by adding those which would be of interest to great personages or please their minds and reason. In this work I collected the biographies of important people, new and old. I tried to indicate the aspects that were obscure in their names and lineages. I showed consideration in arranging the biographies that were based on the names of the people and their fathers. In the second part that follows this, I arranged the *kunya, nisba* and *laqab* and words not according to their roots or pronunciation but their written form; because logically this is more reasonable and clearer than the written root or pronunciation."

At the beginning of the *Muqaddima,* Kātib Chalabi says that history and the science of biography are necessary, meantime many sciences have the need for history. He continues to say that many points in the sciences will be enlightened by the knowledge of history. As examples he quotes the words of Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) on this subject, "When the narrators of *ḥadīth*s started lying, we imposed the science of history on them," and Imām Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820), "I have read history and literature for twenty years; I wanted to use this solely in the area of *fiqh*". Then he relates the ideas of al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) on the benefits of the knowledge of the *ridjāl* (outstanding personalities).

---

[7] On this subject, see: Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Kātib Çelebi'den Seçmeler* I, pp. 43-44; Ahmet Yılmaz *Müstakim-zade Süleyman Sadeddin Efendi, Hayatı, Eserleri ve Mecelletü'n-Nisab'ı*, unpublished PhD thesis, Faculty of Linguistics History and Geography, Ankara 1997.

In the introduction Kātib Chalabi expresses his basic views on the subjects of history and biography. He also gives the traditional definition of the term *history*. He emphasizes the necessity of the knowledge of history for the other branches of learning. He points out that there are quite a number of works on this subject. However, there is a note on the margin of the Cairo copy, which is the only copy of the introduction that we have at hand that states: *"For those who want to study the works written on matters like Wafayāt and Ṭabaqāt, let them look at my work Kashf al-Ẓunūn 'an Asāmī al-Kutub wa al-Funūn."*

Kātib Chalabi's fundamental concept of history is based on al-Rāfi'ī [8], the author of the work on the history of *Qazwīn*. He relates that "Imām al-Rāfi'ī states the following in his history of Qazwīn: There are two types of history books. The first mentions rulers, great personages, wars, battles, news of countries and conquests, and public events such as prices, rain, disasters, earthquakes, the destruction or foundation of states, changes in religions and sects, the birth of great people, celebrations, mourning, and other general events. The second type speaks of the births and deaths of scholars, judges, chiefs, saints, and religious people, as well as some of their quotations and narratives. Ḥadīth scholars busy themselves with this type of history."

Kātib Chalabi also summarizes information on the variety of calendars used in historical literature. Manwhile he prepares a table showing the difference between the periods involved in "history and events". As he points out, in this table there are some extracts taken from his book المختصر المؤيد [9] as well as some additions that he made.

The grammatical bases of personal names, *nisba, laqab* and *kunya* are explained in detail by Kātib Chalabi in the introduction. In this section, where his great knowledge on Arabic language and literature is manifested, he gives the following example of the systematic manner that he used to arrange the names by quoting Abū al-Faradj al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyyā al-Nahrawānī: "One year I went on pilgrimage. During the days of tashrīq *at Minā,* I heard a munādī *(herald)* call out *O, Abū al-Faradj."* I thought he may be calling to me but I did not answer. Then the man called out *"O, Abū al-Faradj al-Mu'āfā."* This time I wanted to answer but thinking there may be another person among all these people with the name *Mu'āfā* whose *kunya* was *Abū al-Faradj";* I still did not answer. Then the munādī called out by adding the nisba *Nahrawānī* to the name. This time there was no doubt that he was calling to me as he had added my *kunya,* father's name and country to my name. "Here I am" I replied. When the man saw me he asked whether I was from *Nahrawān* in the East, I said "Yes"; but then he said he had meant *Nahrawān* in the West. I was very surprised with this coincidence. This is

[8] This is taken from the work by Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī (d. 623/1226), *al-Tadwīn fī Dhikr Akhbār Qazwīn* (*Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, p. 382)

[9] The work *al-Mukhtašar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* by Abū al-Fidā is referred.

the reason why many historians do not notice these similarities. They think two different people are the same person. This is a grave mistake."

Kātib Chalabi demonstrates which guidelines he followed in listing the names of the people whose biographies he included in this work and he shows how systematically he arranged these guidelines.

In the introduction, Kātib Chalabi emphasied the need to comply with the norms of objectivity in writing a biography. He displays great sensitivity in this matter; after stating that historical books are full of errors due to bigotry and ignorance, he goes on to say that those who are to write history and biographies must respect four basic principles. "For this, historians look for certain prerequisites in those who write history and biographies. The first is accuracy. The second is that if the historian is to report something, it is not the meaning but the words that are to be relied upon. The third is that what is being reported should not be something heard during a lecture then written. The fourth is that the name of the person whose words are being quoted should be given. These are the four rules that should be considered by the historian in narrating. Moreover, the historian should be aware of the person's knowledge and religion well as other characteristics in writing his biography. This is very important. Besides, the phrasing must be elegant, the meaning of the words must be known and well-designed; what is written must thoroughly describe the person, without additions or omissions, and it should not be in keeping with their wishes; it should not overpraise a person that he likes while describing others perfunctorily. It is very important not to give in to personal feelings in writing a biography. If the one who is writing history is just and overcomes his feelings, then he is fair. These are the other four conditions. Preparation of knowledge and good perception will bring up the rules to five. The last two rules may frequently be lacking in a person while compiling a work. Thus it is necessary that the historian adheres to these nine rules. The most difficult thing is to understand the level of knowledge of the person whose biography is written; in order to assess his scholarship and learn his level, one has to be familiar with the sciences he pursued."

In preparing the first part of the work, Kātib Chalabi formed the draft that we have in hand by using a variety of notes that he had collected on slips of paper and notebooks; first he carefully arranged the names in alphabetical order, then he wrote these names in the quires that make up the draft. When he lacked the necessary information about some of the items or wanted to complete it at a later date, he recorded only the title of the item. He wrote the draft in black ink but to draw the reader's attention the section titles, the *bāb* and the conclusion were written in red ink, such as:

القسم الاول، القسم الثاني، الخاتمة في فوائد متفرقه. باب الألف، باب الباء، باب التاء

Also in recording the names of the people, the name of the person whose biography was being written and the names that person had become famous with were written in red ink. For example:

إبراهيم خليل الله،

الشيخ أبو اسحاق إبراهيم بن السري... الزجاج،

العلامة شهاب الدين أحمد بن اسماعيل بن عثمان الكوراني،

الشيخ الرئيس أبو علي الحسين بن عبد الله... بن سينا،

الشيخ أبو علي الحسن بن أحمد بن عبد الغفار الفارسي،

ابو سعيد عبد الملك بن قريب بن عبد الملك... الاصمعي،

القاضي نجم الدين عمر بن محمد بن هبة الله... المعروف بابن العديم

If the person was only known by his name, then only this name was written in red:

الشيخ الاديب محمد الصالحي الهلالي،

دياسقوريدس،

بقراط

In the second part, the names of the people whose biography is given, the famous names of others, families, *madhhab, nisba* and the titles of some topics are written in red ink:

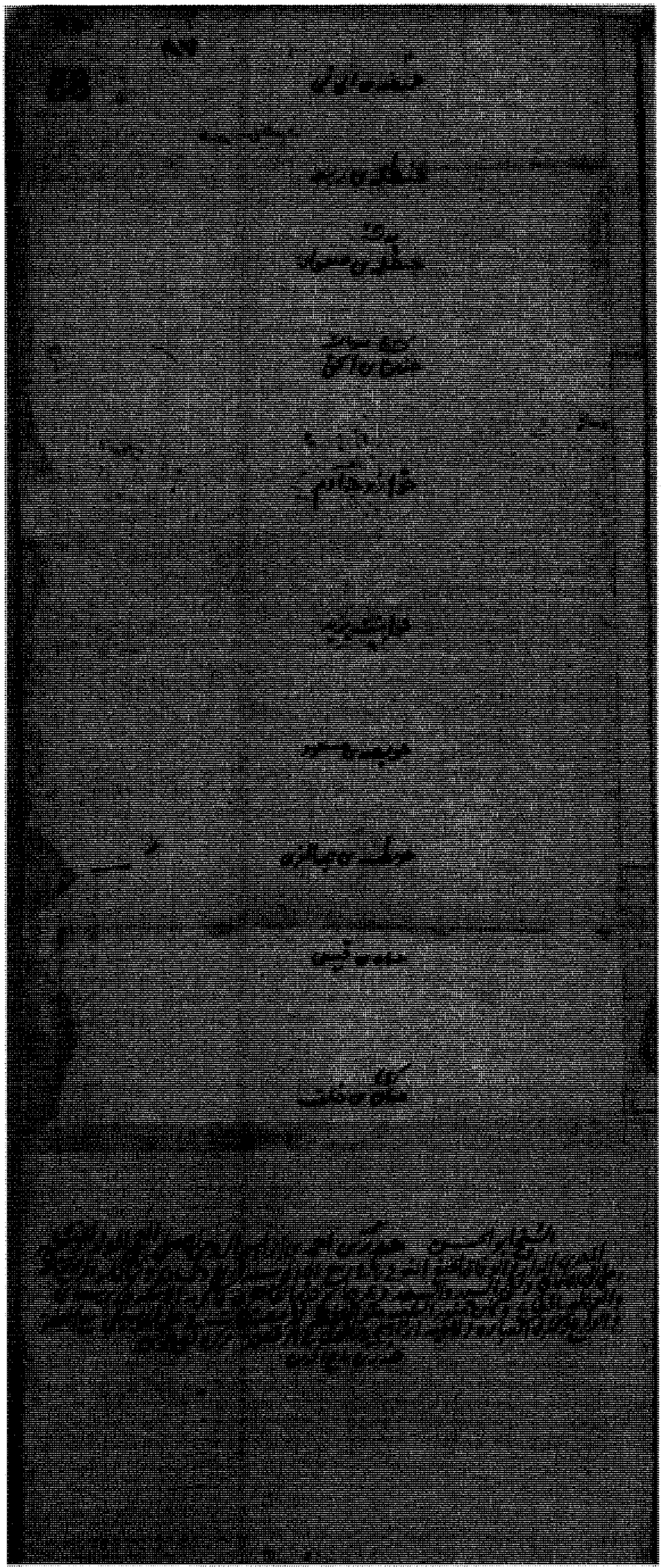
فصل في ما اشتهر من النسب،

آل عباس،

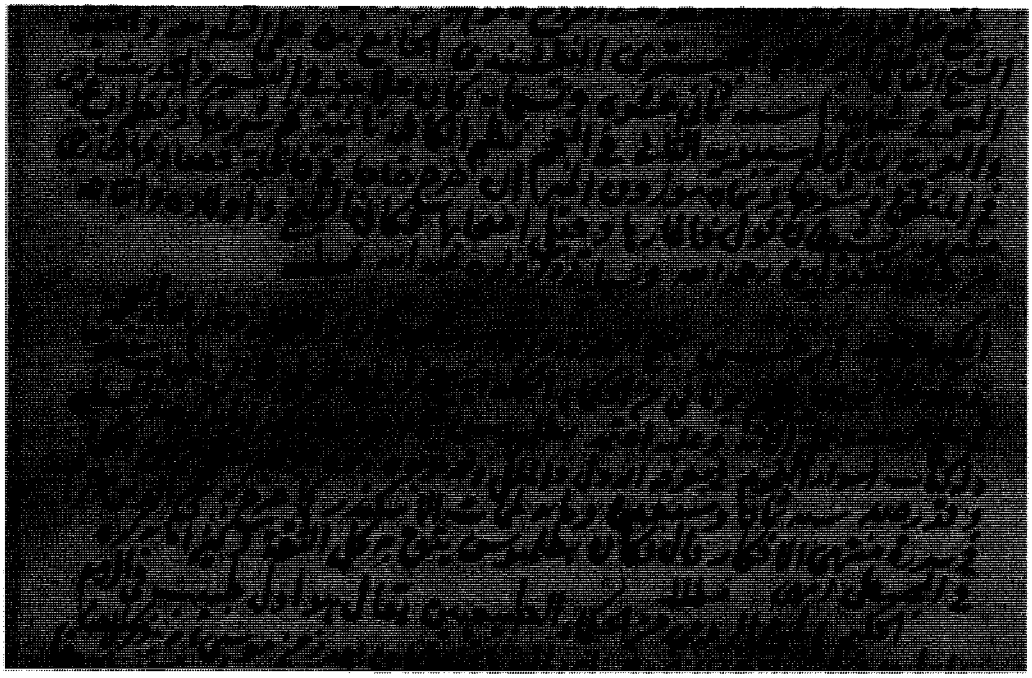
ابن سينا،

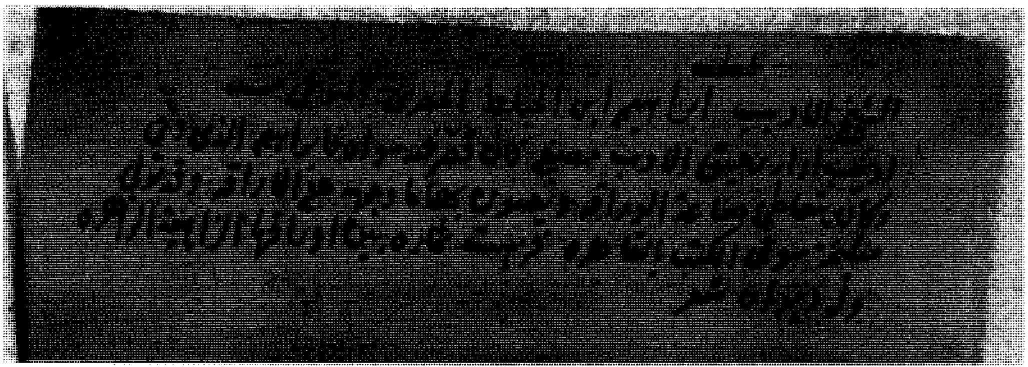
آل مازه.

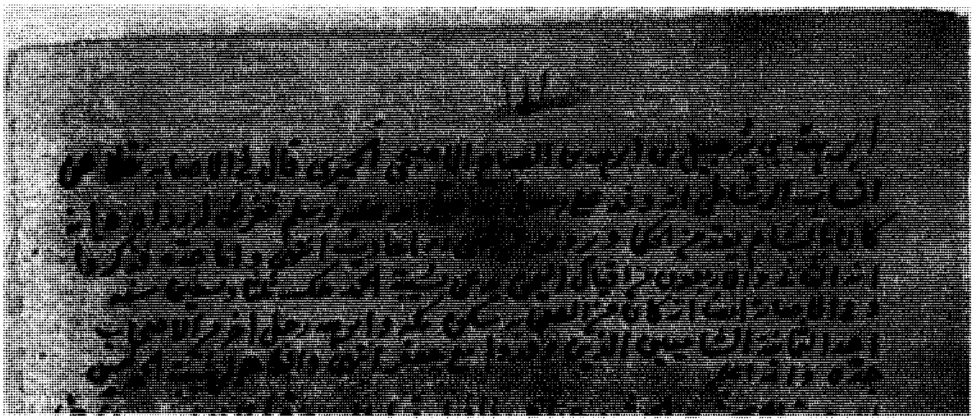
The names of people, whose *kunyas* and *nisbas* are the same, are written one after the other and separated from each other by the letter *wāw* which is written in red ink. The father and son relationships in the genealogies are indicated by red dots. The titles of subjects in the *khātima* as well as people, who became famous in certain fields, are indicated and separated by *wāw al aṭf,* also in red. The intention is to draw the reader's attention. The source symbols in the item are placed above the subject titles. For each name, he left a space suitable for the biography. Some of these spaces were well-matched or in the case the space was not sufficient, he tried to complete the item by additions that overflowed into the right or left margins. In some cases the biographies are brief and the space under the titles is empty to some degree. The space under some of the titles is completely blank.



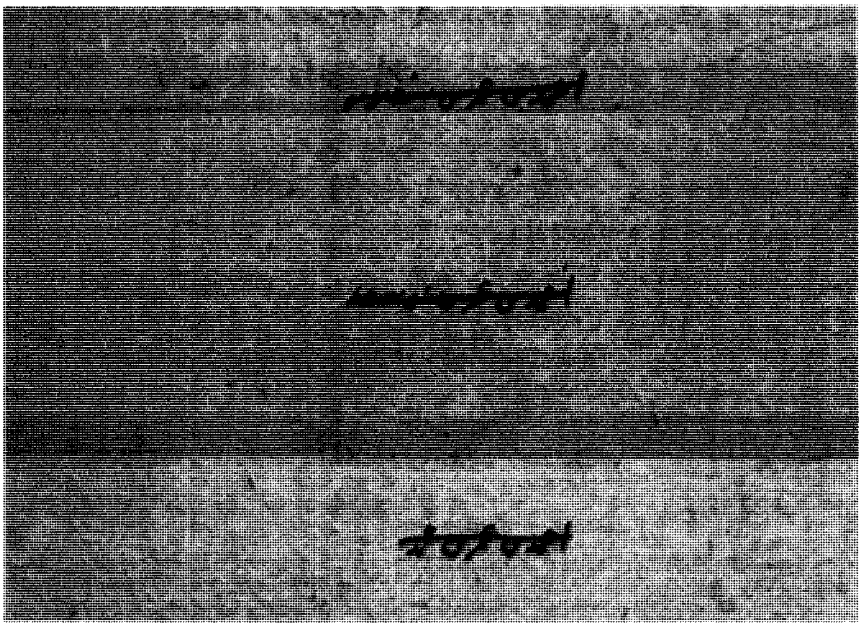
Sometimes, there is an abbreviation that refers to a continuation that is added in the following manner: ، ، ،  (cont.1, 2 and 3) where a new item is written on the same or another page that has the same symbol:



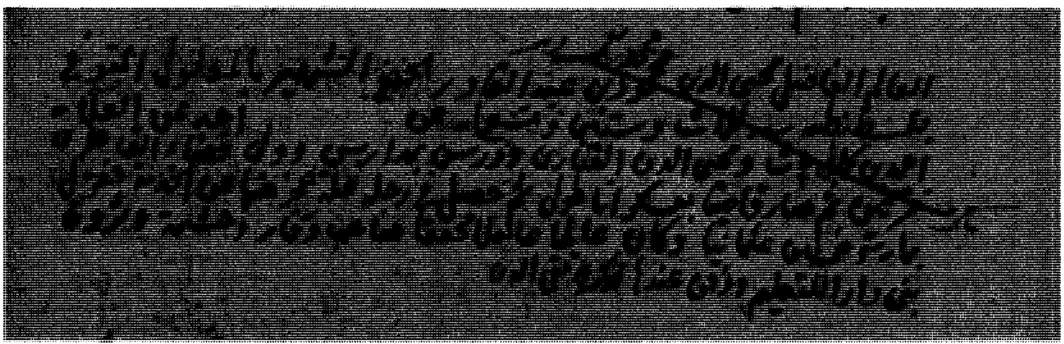




In the author's draft covering the section from *alif* to *tā*, he drew a single horizontal line over the headings of the items where no information was provided; he did not include these items in the fair draft.



Some items were inadvertently repeated and later these repetitions were crossed out with a black or a red pen; starting from the right corner of the biography he wrote the word "*mukarrar*" (repeated) with the word stretching to the left corner of the biography.



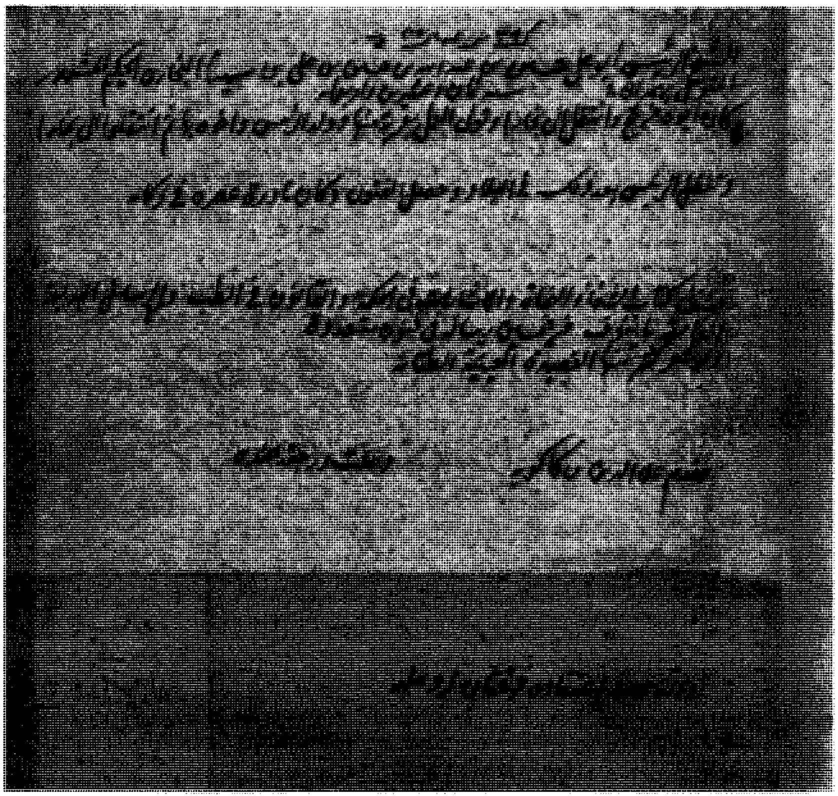
Some biographies in the author's draft were crossed out. Among them are biographies which are also found in the Cairo copy. There are similar examples in the remaining part of the draft. We do not know why these biographies were crossed out. As these biographies are not repeated in other places of the work, they are included in our text.



The first part of *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* has been arranged in such a way that every letter is a section. In every section the biographies under that letter have been arranged alphabetically. This first section, which includes about 5542 biographies, starts with the item Abān (أبان) and ends with Yūnus b. Yūnus (يونس بن يونس); at the end is the first section of the author's biography. The arrangement of the names is based on the name of the individual and that of his father. At this point the *laqab, kunya, nisba,* date of death, a short account of the person's life, his scholarly achievements and the titles of his works are given. In the case that the author has numerous works, the names of only a few are given. The sources that were used are recorded. The name of each person and the name that he became famous with are written in red ink. Women are also included in the biographies. Following are the two examples on how the author wrote the biographies:

For example, from the biography of Ibn Sīnā given under the title Ḥusayn b. Abdullah b. 'Alī:

الشيخ الرئيس ابو علي حسين بن عبد الله بن علي بن سينا البخاري



and from the item about Maqrīzī given under the title Aḥmad b. 'Alī:

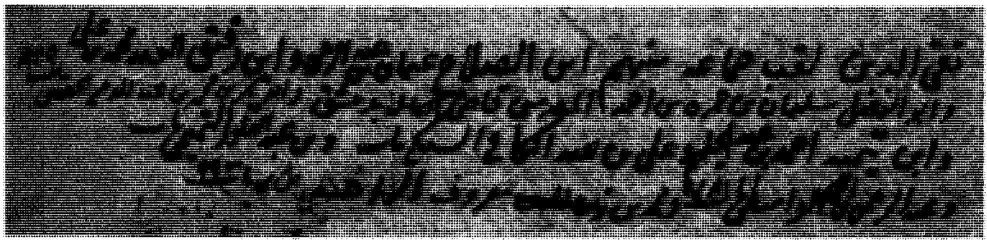
الشيخ العلامة تقي الدين ابو محمد احمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد ...المقريزي

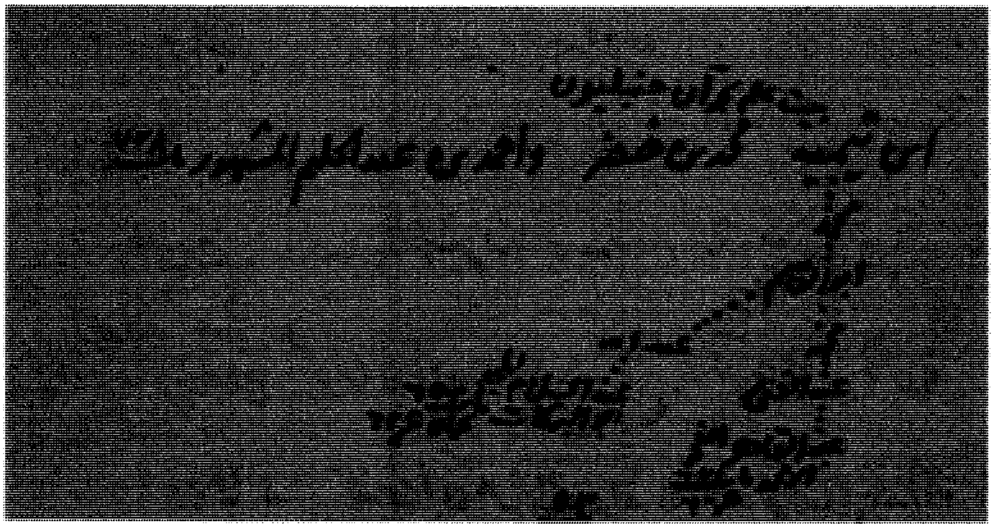
A group of biographies after folio 67[a] is missing, while some of them consist only of names. The author is satisfied to refer to his own work in Arabic *Fadhlaka* in some of the items for which only titles are provided. As for some important personages like Ibn Sīnā, very brief information is given. It is likely that Kātib

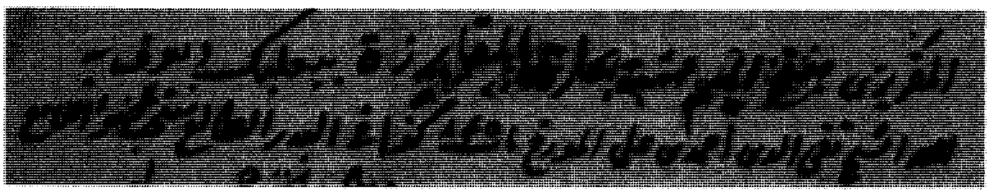
Chalabi intended to summarize some items from *Fadhlaka* and other sources when making the clean copy.

After completing the first part of *Sullam al-Wuṣūl*, Kātib Chalabi thought it was needful to write a second part concerned with the *laqab* and *lineages* and he penned the second part of the work. The second part covers folios 272^b to 563^a in the author's draft and *nisba*, *lakab*, famous names like Ibn, Abū, Imām and Āl, the *'Abādila*, and the names of the religious sects are placed in alphabetical order. In this part the items are generally arranged according to the *nisba* and *lakab* by which the people were most commonly known. At the same time, there are items about their sects, religions, ethnicity and occupation. In writing this part, the author benefitted greatly from al-Suyūṭī's *Taḥrīr al-Lubāb* (*Lubb al-Lubāb*). The items are very short. Out of the 3019 people, whose biographies were not given in the first part, only some have lengthy items. In this part, which forms the index for the names that appear in the biographies, many people are referred to under different headings. For example, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Taymiyya are given under the *ibn* item. Maqrīzī was given under the Maqrīzī item. In addition Taymiyya and Maqrīzī are also referred to in the Ibn Taqī al-Dīn item.









In giving the *nisba*, brief geographic information is provided while explaining the areas that *nisbas* refer to. There are numerous people whose names are not given in the first part but appear in the second part where the *nisba* is mentioned. The items are headed by the pen names *(mahlas)* of Ottoman poets but no explanation is given. In this part the symbols indicating the sources are scarce. At the beginning they appear more often, but then become few and far between. It is obvious that the author wrote this part to supplement the first part. Its compilation was completed on the Qadr Gecesi in the year 1053 (The Night of Power, 9 December 1643).

In preparing this encyclopedic work Kātib Chalabi carried out a systematic research and used a certain methodology. As mentioned above, Kātib Chalabi spent his life studying histories and biographies and used a very consistent reference system for the sources he had selected for the biographies; he recorded these in his notebooks and on slips of paper during this research. The works that he referred to are indicated by certain symbols and numbers. A significant portion of the symbols are given in the table that is included in this study. In mentioning the symbols and the numbers that are recorded, we may say that he used these to indicate the volume; if there was more than one volume to the work, the page or folio they belonged to. The source symbols are listed at the beginning of every biography. At the end of lengthier biographies any source that was openly quoted is given. Thus, those symbols used at the beginning of the items written in this way and clearly indicated, are crossed out.

The symbols indicating the sources start after the letter *tā* at the end of the final draft of the first volume (folio 66^{a}). Apparently the author did not deem it necessary to write symbols after completing the final draft.

The conclusion which is between folios 563^{b} and 577^{a} is quite long. In this section information is given about the Baghdād and Nizāmiyya Madrasas; the *ḥadīth* reports, councils of scholars, great hadith narrators, those who narrated *ḥadīth*s from the Companions, the sects, some hadith scholars and the author's thoughts on *fatwās*, as well as information about prolific writers, rare reports about men of learning, scholars with long-life spans; some legends about old or young people; pious scholars; the virtues of some rulers and viziers; those who favored knowledge; Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī and Sayyid Sharīf's interviews in the council of Timur; the remarks of a *shaykh* in Cairo about the great Ottoman scholars Ḥādjī Pasha, Aḥmadī, Mollā Fanārī and Badr al-Dīn al-Simawī; scholars who loved to criticize; those who did not accept posts; those who spoke in error and those who did not reply; some names that are difficult to read; debates made in the presence of the Ottoman sultans, legends about some judges and sheikhs; the discovery of the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī by Akshams al-Dīn, and information about the beginning and end of time.

The Importance of *Sullam al-Wuṣūl*

In writing *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* and *Sullam al-Wuṣūl,* Kātib Chalabi followed Ṭashkoprī-zāda's path to a great extent and similarly concentrated on biography and bibliography. The only difference is that while Ṭashkoprī-zāda mentioned only the Ottoman *'ulamā* in his important work *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya,* Kātib Chalabi included all the important people in Islamic history and literature in his work. In addition to the scholars, he mentioned the caliphs, sultans, and important personages of the ancient times who appeared in Islamic literature. He provided short and basic information for some of the renowned personages. The most important characteristic of this book is that it reflects the author's great knowledge of Arabic, Turkish and Persian literature, thus demonstrating the cultural unity of the Islamic world. In writing the biographies, Kātib Chalabi gave the sources that he used and summarized them commensurately with the capacity of the book. With this work, Kātib Chalabi desired to provide a guide for those who were dealing with this type of literature. The work is in the nature of both a book of biography and a book of genealogy. In addition, many of the biographies provide information about religious sects, congregations, tribes, rulers, administrators, scholars, as well as authors and sheikhs from the Ottoman era, thus completing the information that is lacking in Arabic and Persian biographical works. As the work is alphabetically arranged, it is easy to use.

The Sources of *Sullam al-Wuṣūl*

While Kātib Chalabi was writing *Sullam al-Wuṣūl,* he benefited from a great number of Arabic, Turkish and Persian sources. It is difficult to identify all the sources he used. The source is sometimes indicated by the name of the book, sometimes by the author's name. We are able to identify some of the sources from list found at the end of the biographies and from those given in the source symbols. In some cases it is not clear which sources are indicated by some of the symbols. Occasionally instead of giving the name of the source, he uses a general expression such as *Dhakarahū aṣḥāb al-tawārīkh* (he was mentioned by the historians). From this expression, it is possible to arrive at the conclusion that he used sources other than those that he indicated explicitly or by symbols. For example, Kātib Chalabi must have benefited from the works of Ottoman scholars like 'Ālī and Hodja Sa'd al-Dīn as well as some supplements of the *Shaqā'iq* and books of short biographies. But these are not mentioned. In addition, he must have used some works written by Persian scholars such as Ḥamdullāh al-Mustawfī.

We have been able to identify more than 150 works. Among them are general Islamic histories, histories of the dynasties, books of genealogy, and histories of cities, a variety of biographies of certain ranks of people, sources of hadith narrators and general biographies and dictionaries. In the second part, the author benefited greatly from works concerned with geography, particularly there are

many excerpts from al-Sam'ānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*. Most of the geography books that he used are recorded by symbols. In many cases it is not possible to understand which works these symbols refer to.

In his own words, when writing the second part, Kātib Chalabi used the work called *Taḥrīr al-Lubāb (Lubb al-Lubāb)* by *al-Suyūṭī* as his primary source as stated above. He transferred the information from the book in the same order and where he thought it was lacking, he completed the information from a variety of sources. He made additions to the information given by *al-Suyūṭī*. As we know, *al-Suyūṭī*'s work is a condensed version of Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Lubāb fī Taḥrīr al-Ansāb*; which in turn is a condensed version of al-Sam'ānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb* with some additions. In providing information, Kātib Chalabi indicates the additions al-Suyūṭī made to Ibn al-Athīr's work and those he made to al-Suyūṭī's work. For example:

الأرنبوي: قال السمعاني: أظنها من قرى نيسابور

الأزرق: ....

الألوسي:............

الخفاجي:.......قال السمعاني:.... وقال ابن الأثير:........

الحوفي:......، وكنت أظن......قال السيوطي.....

البسطامي: قال ياقوت..... وقال السمعاني....، والأول أرجح إلى بسطام بلد بطريق.....

الشذائي:.... أقول: ضبط بعضهم بتشديد الذال....

In describing the geographical *nisba* Kātib Chalabi must have benefited mostly from *Mu'djam al-Buldān* and *Taqwīm al-Buldān;* when describing places in Western Europe, he must have benefited from *Kitāb-i Baḥriyya* of Pīrī Ra'īs, *Aṭlas Minor* and *Aṭlas Major* and from his own translation of the *Aṭlas Minor, Lawāmi' al-Nūr* and his own work *Cihannumā.*

Following are the sources that were identified as having been used in preparing the first and second part of the work:

'Abd al-'Azīz b. Shaddād al-Ṣanhādjī, *Akhbār al-Qayrawān*

'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Ghazzī, *al-Djawāhir al-Muḍiyya fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya*

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya*

Abū al-Barakāt ibn al-Sha"ār, *Uqūd al-Djumā fī Shu'arā al-Zamān*

Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, *Sharḥ al-Tashīl (Sharḥ Tashīl al-Fawā'id wa Takmīl al-Maqāṣid)*

'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, *Madjālis al-Nafā'is*

Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, *Haft Iqlīm* (Persian)

Arab-zāda, *Ḥāshiyat al-Shaqā'iq*

'Ārifī, *Tardjamat al-Rashaḥāt* (Turkish)

'Āshiq Chalabi, *Dhayl al-Shaqā'iq*

'Āshiq Pasha, *Tārīkh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*

al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-Qaṣr*

al-Basṭāmī 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Rawḍat al-'Ibād, Shams al-Āfāq*

Baṭlamyūs, *al-Coğrafya,* Ptolemy, *Geography*

al-Bayḍāwī, *Niẓām al-Tawārīkh* (Persian)

al-Biqā'ī, *'Unwān al-Zamān bi Tardjamat al-Shuyūkh wa al-Aqrān*

Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *al-Muqtafā fī Sharḥ al-Shifā li Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ*

Burhān al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Dimashqī, *Kanz al-Rāghibīn al-'Ufāt fī al-Ramz ilā al-Mawlid al-Muḥammadī wa al-Wafāt*

al-Dāraquṭnī, *Dhikr Asmā' al-Tābi'īn*

Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā* (Persian)

al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā',*
al-'Ibar fī Khabar man Ghabar,
al-Mu'djam al-Mukhtaṣar,
Mīzān al-I'tidāl

al-Djāmī 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* (Persian)

al-Djanābī, *al-'Aylam al-Zākhir fī Aḥwāl al-Awā'il wa al-Awākhir*

al-Djanadī, *al-Sulūk fī Ṭabaqāt al-'Ulamā' wa al-Mulūk*

Fakhr al-Islām al-Pazdawī, *Sharḥ al-Djāmi' al-Ṣaghīr*

Firdawsī, *Shah-nāma* (Persian)

al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn,*
Siyar al-Mulūk

al-Ghifārī, *Tārīkh-i Djihān-ārā* (Persian)

Ibn al-Abbār, *Kitāb al-Ṣila*

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifat al-Aṣḥāb,*

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd,*
al-Lubāb fī al-Ādāb

Ibn Abī Sharīf, *Itḥāf al-Akhiṣṣa bi Faḍā'il al-Masdjid al-Aqṣā*

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*

Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*

Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīna at Dimashq*

Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh,*
al-Lubāb fī Taḥrīr al-Ansāb

Ibn al-Athīr, Madjd al-Dīn, *Djāmi' al-Uṣūl fī Aḥādīth al-Rasūl*

Ibn Bassām, *al-Zakhīra fī Maḥāsin Ahl al-Djazīra*

Ibn al-Dayba', *Bughyat al-Mustafīd fī Tārīkh Zabīd*

Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Umam*

Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-Nihāya*

Ibn Farhūn, *al-Dībādj al-Muzahhab fī Ma'rifat A'yān 'Ulamā' al-Madhhab*

Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Durrat al-Aslāk fī Tārīkh Dawlat al-Atrāk*

Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,*
al-Isāba fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba,
al-Durar al-Kāmina,
al-Mu'djam al-Mufahras,
Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb

Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-Ḥabab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab,*

Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*

Ibn al-Humām, *al-Siyar*

Ibn Kamāl, *Tārīkh-i Āl-i 'Othmān* (Turkish)

Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*

Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*

Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, *al-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Takmila Tārīkh Ḥalab*

Ibn Luṭfī Bey (Luṭfī Bey-zāde), *Hāmish al-Shaqā'iq*

Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl fī al-Mu'talif wa al-Mukhtalif min al-Asmā'*

Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Ikmāl Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*

Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*

Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām Baghdād*

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq,*
Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya

Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq*

Ibn Qutlubugha, *Tādj al-Tarādjim fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya*

Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*

Ibn Rāfi', *Wafayāt, Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Baghdād*

Ibn Rashīq, *al-Anmūdhadj fī Shu'arā Qayrawān*

Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh,*
Fawāt al-Wafayāt

Ibn al-Shiḥna, *'Uqūd al-Djawāhir,*
al-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Tārīkh Mamlakat Ḥalab

Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi al-Ṭibb*

Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira,*
Mawrid al-Laṭāfa,
al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi

Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Ghuraf al-ʻAliyya fi Tarādjim Muta'akhkhirī al-Ḥanafiyya,*
Iʻlām al-Warā biman Waliya Nā'iban min al-Atrāk bi Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrā

al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq*

ʻIṣām al-Dīn al-Isfarā'īnī, *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ Ādāb al-Baḥth*

al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʻiyya*

al-Kafawī, *Katā'ib Aʻlām al-Akhyār min Fuqahā al-Nuʻmān al-Mukhtār*

Kātib Chalabi, *Fadhlaka,*
Kashf al-Ẓunūn,
Lawāmiʻ al-Nūr

al-Khafādjī, *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā*

al-Khazradjī, *Tārīkh Dawlat al-Akrād wa al-Atrāk*

Khwādja Parsā, *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb fi al-Muḥāḍarāt*

Khwandmīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar fi Akhbār Afrād al-Bashar* (Persian)

Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb al-Ghirnāṭī, *al-Ihāṭa fi Akhbār Ghirnāṭa*

Madjd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Bulgha fi Tarādjim A'immat al-Naḥw wa al-Lugha,*
Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ

Madjdī, *Ḥadā'iq al-Shaqā'iq* (Turkish)

al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk, al-Muqaffā, al-Khiṭaṭ*

al-Marghīnānī, *al-Hidāya*

Mīrkhond, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* (Persian)

al-Mizzī, *al-Kamāl fi Maʻrifat al-Ridjāl*

Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Birzālī, *Ghāyat al-Marām fi Ridjāl al-Bukhārī*

Muḥammad al-Manūfi, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fi Akhbār man Maḍā min al-ʻAwālim*

Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd al-Zāhidī, *Qunyat al-Munyat*

al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa al-Lughāt*

Nawʻī-zāda ʻAṭā'ī, *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq fi Takmilat al-Shaqā'iq* (Turkish)

Qāḍī Abū Yaʻlā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*

Qāḍī ʻIyāḍ, *al-Shifā bi Taʻrīf Ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā,*
Tartīb al-Madārik wa Taqrīb al-Masālik

al-Qaramanī, *Akhbār al-Duwal*

al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā',*
Inbā al-Mustaṭāba fī Faḍā'il al-Ṭaḥāba wa al-Qarāba

Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥayḍarī, *al-Iktisāb*

Quṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī, *al-I'lām bi A'lām Balad Allāh al-Ḥarām*

al-Rāfi'ī, *Tārīkh Qazwīn (al-Tadwīn)*

Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Tabīb, *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (Persian)

al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt, A'yān al-'Aṣr*

al-Sakhāwī, *al-Badr al-Ṭāli' al-Muntakhab min al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',*
al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'

al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*

al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ*

al-Shahristānī, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā*

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Qurashī, *al-Rawḍat al-'Āliyya al-Munīfa fī Faḍā'il al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa*

al-Sha'rānī, *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Manāqib al-'Ulamā' al-Ṣūfiyya wa Dhayluhu, Mukhtaṣar Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*

Sharīf Abū Muṣṭafā, *Tawārīkh al-Khulafā'*

al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-Kubrā,*
Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-Wusṭā

al-Suyūṭī, *A'yān al-A'yān,*
Bughyat al-Wu'āt,
Ḥusn al-Muhāḍara,
al-Kawkab al-Munīr fī Sharḥ al-Djāmi' al-Ṣaghīr,
Naẓm al-'Iqyān,
Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāẓ
Taḥrīr al-Lubāb (Lubb al-Lubāb),

Taqī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Tamīmī,
al-Ṭabaqāt al-Saniyya fī Tarādjim al-Ḥanafiyya

Tashkoprī-zāda, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda,*
al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya,
Nawādir al-Akhbār

al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr*

al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns al-Djalīl bi Tārīkh al-Quds wa al-Khalīl*

'Umar al-Nasafī, *al-Qand fī 'Ulamā' Samarqand*

al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-Djinān, Nashr al-Maḥāsin al-Ghāliyya*

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-Arīb, Mu'djam al-Buldān*

al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*

al-Zarkashī, *'Uqūd al-Djumān = Tārīkh al-Dawlatayn al-Muwaḥḥidiyya wa al-Ḥafṣiyya*

al-Zubaydī, *Mukhtaṣar Ṭabaqāt al-Nuḥāt*

Following are the works that were identified as having been most often used:

Amīn al-Rāzī, *Haft Iqlīm* (Persian)

Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā* (Persian)

al-Dhahabī, *al-'Ibar fī Khabar man Ghabar,*
Mīzān al-I'tidāl,
al-Mu'djam al-Mukhtaṣar,
Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*

Ibn al-Athīr, Madjd al-Dīn, *Djāmi' al-Uṣūl fī Aḥādīth al-Rasūl*

Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina,*
al-Iṣāba fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba,
al-Mu'djam al-Mufahras,
Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb

Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,*
Mawrid al-Laṭāfa,
al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira

Kātib Chalabi, *Fadhlaka* (Arabic)

al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa al-Lughāt*

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr,*
al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt

al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*

al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-Kubrā,*
Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-Wustā

al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt,*
Ḥusn al-Muhāḍara

Tashkoprī-zāda, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda,*
al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-Arīb,*
Mu'djam al-Buldān

In the first list above, there are 150 works belonging to 114 authors; of these 4 are in Turkish, 9 in Persian and the rest are in Arabic. Among the Persian works, Kātib Chalabi used the works of Firdawsī, Dawlat-shāh, Qāḍī Bayḍāwī, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, al-Djāmī, al-Ghifārī and Amīn al-Rāzī. Similarly he benefited

from the works penned by the Ottoman authors in Arabic and Turkish. Among them are Ibn Kamāl's *Tārīkh,* Tashkoprī-zāda's *al-Shaqā'iq,* its translation and supplements and biographical dictionaries (tezākir) by al-Djanābī 'Āshiq Chalabi, Naw'ī-zāda and al-Kafawī. He often referred to his own works *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* and *Fadhlaka.*

In writing the biographies of Prophet Muhammad, the Ṣaḥāba and the Tābi'īn, he used the books written by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the Ibn al-Athīrs ('Izz al-Dīn and Madjd al-Dīn), al-Mizzī and al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥadjar, which relate the lives of the Ṣaḥāba and hadith narrators.

In writing the biograhies of the Prophets and the rulers of ancient states, he benefited from the general histories as well as works on Iranian and Greek histories, *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* (histories of the Prophets) and *shah-nāma* (chronicles written in verse).

In writing the biographies of the caliphs, sultans and commanding officers, he consulted general and specific history books, as well as general biographical works written by authors like Ibn Khallikān and al-Ṣafadī.

In writing about the biographies of the imams and judges belonging to *madhhabs* (sects), he referred to biography books, as well as the works by al-Dhahabī and Ibn Kathīr. Likewise, the books that he mostly benefited were *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* by Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā, and Ibn Radjab's supplement written for the same work; books by al-Subkī, al-Isnawī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba called *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya; al-Dībādj al-Mudhahhab* by Ibn Farḥūn, and the works called *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya* by Taqī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Tamīmī, Ibn Quṭlubugha, al-Kafawī and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qurashī.

For the biographies of the Sufis, he mostly consulted the books *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya* by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* by al-Djāmī, and *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār* by al-Sha'rānī.

For the biographies of philosophers, mathematicians, physicians, physicists and chemists, Kātib Chalabi referred mostly to the following works: *al-Fihrist by* Ibn al-Nadīm, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā* by al-Shahristānī, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā* by al-Qifṭī and *'Uyūn al-Anbā* by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a.

For the biographies of linguists, writers and poets, he mostly used Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's *Irshād al-Arīb*, Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Ibn Rashīq's *al-Anmūdhadj*, al-Zubaydī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Nuḥāt*, Dawlat-shāh's *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā*, Ibn Bassām's *al-Dhakhīra*, al-Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, and al-Fīrūzābādī's *al-Bulgha fī Tarādjim A'immat al-Naḥw wa al-Lugha.*

For the biographies of Ottoman scholars, rulers, men of letters and poets, Kātib Chalabi used the works by Ibn Kamāl, *Tārīkh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, al-Djanābī's *al-'Aylam al-Zākhir*, Tashkoprī-zāda's *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya, Miftāḥ al-*

Sa'āda and *Nawādir al-Akhbār*, al-Kafawī's *Katā'ib A'lām al-Akhyār* and Naw'ī-zāda's *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq*.

For scholars, rulers and men of letters from Iran, India, and Central Asia, he referred to al-Sam'ānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, Dawlat-shāh's *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā*, al-Nasafī's *Kitāb al-Qand*, Qāḍī Bayḍāwī's *Niẓām al-Tawārīkh*, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh's *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, al-Ghifārī's *Tārīkh-i Djihān-ārā*, and Amīn al-Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm*.

Other than these, in writing the second part of the book, as we have stated above, Kātib Chalabi used works like al-Suyūṭī's*Taḥrīr al-Lubāb* (*Lubb al-Lubāb*), the *Aṭlas Minor*, *Aṭlas Major*, Ptolemy's *Geography*, as well as greatly benefiting from *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, *Ansāb al-Sam'ānī*. Even though it is not openly stated, in writing this part he must have benefited greatly from his own works *Cihannumā* and *Lawāmi' al-Nūr* which is the translation of *Aṭlas Minor*.

The Symbols:

The sources used for the items are indicated by superscripted symbols. In some places these symbols denote the name of the author, in others the name of the book. For example,

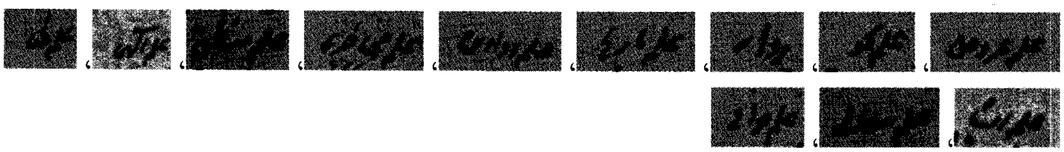
Dawlat-shāh's *Tadhkira* is given as

لتشاه

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's *'Uyūn al-Anbā* is given as

عيو، عيو ثاني، عيو ثالث

Katip Çelebi indicates the names of branches of science at the top of the biographies such as *'ilm-i manṭiq* (logic), *'ilm-i inshā* (literary composition), *'ilm-i naḥw* (syntax) and *'ilm-i ṭibb* (medicine).



The biographies which contain these symbols are *taken* from the biographies of persons found in the classified branches of science in Tashkoprī-zāda's *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*.

In examining the symbols used for the names of works, we see that sometimes he used a word from the title, or the syllable of one word or one letter from the beginning and one from the end of the word.

 حسن المحاضرة،

 الدرر الكامنه،

 إرشاد الأريب،

 مورد اللطافة،

 شقائق النعمانية،

 ، القاموس المحيط،

 لسان العرب

Sometimes he indicated the full name of the writer he often referred to as in the case of "سبكي" or a partial name as in the case of al-Suyūṭī, by the abbreviation "سيو".

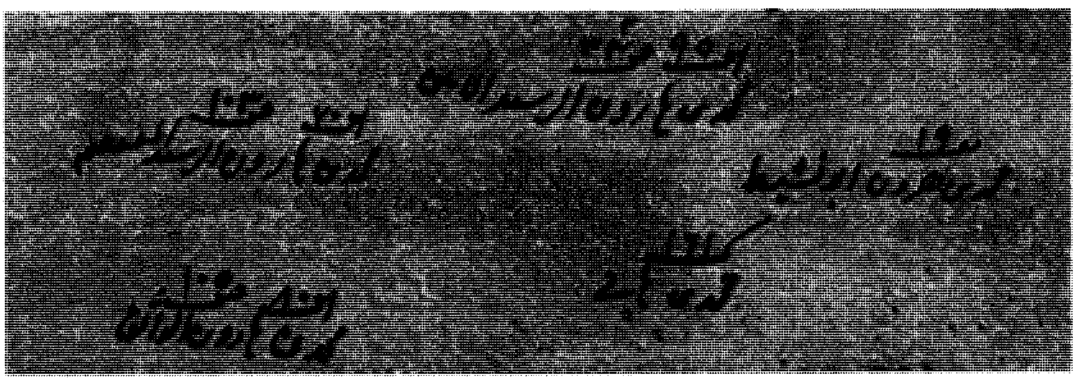
 سيوطي،

 ابن قاضي شهبة،

 سبكي.

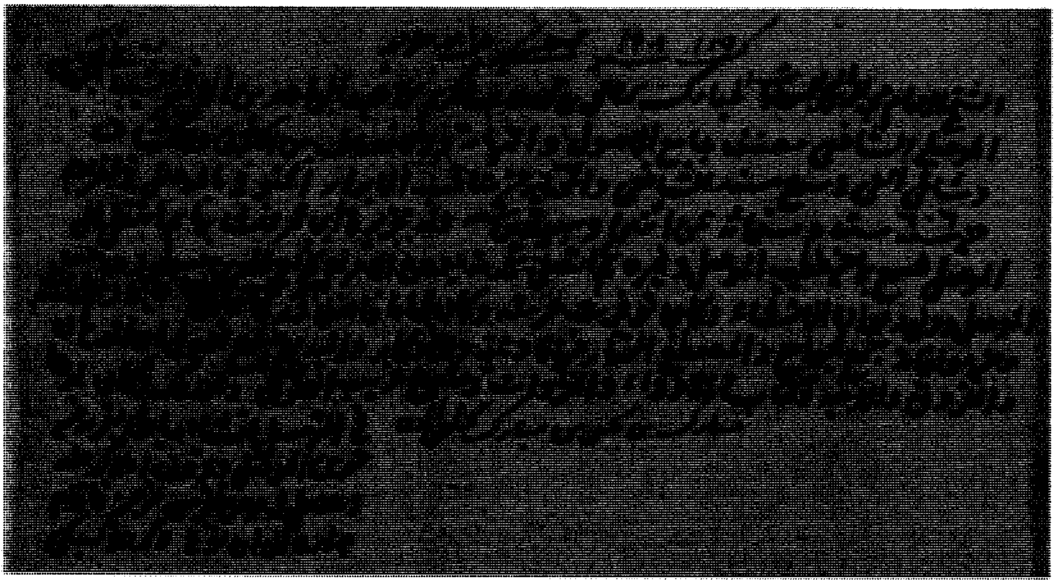
When using different works by the same author, he used a symbol that identified the author's name only in one work, while he used an abbreviation for the name of the other works. For example, while using five works by Suyūṭī, he indicted "بغية الوعاة" by "سيو" that he often used. In the other works, references are given by the above-mentioned abbreviations.

The symbol used by Kātib Chalabi corresponds to the footnotes used in academic works today. As it is known, after the name of a book is given in the footnotes for the first time, an abbreviation is used in subsequent references to the same book together with the page number. The symbols that Kātib Chalabi used and the numbers he wrote above them are no different from this. In the part which he calls the first volume, which consists of biographies that he completed and recopied, the symbols have all been removed. In the biographies that are pending, the symbols are placed over the titles of the items.



We first see the symbols on folio 65^{b}. A significant part of the biographies with symbols are those that are not completed. In these examples, only the person's name is given, and in the case there is a symbol or symbols concerned with the biography, these are written together with the volume and page numbers and left blank.

After writing the names of the persons whose biographies he would be writing in alphabetical order in the quires which make up this great work, and after noting their sources with written symbols over them, Kātib Chalabi then summarized an extract from the sources referred to in the symbol of the biography or from the work he recorded that person's biography. If he had used one of the references that appeared at the beginning of the item, he recorded the name of the source at the end of the biography as ذكره السبكي or ذكره صاحب العيون and drew a line over the symbol, leaving the others alone.



The symbols are generally written above the biographies together with the page numbers. The symbol without a page number generally denotes the book جامع الأصول, which is generally referred to جا. When the symbol of this book is carefully examined, it will be seen that it is used with the source that is referred to as ته which we think is تهذيب الأسماء واللغات. Both sources comprise the era of the Ṣaḥāba and the Tābiʿīn. After examining these biographies where these symbols are used, it will be seen that they belong mostly to the Ṣaḥāba and the Tābiʿūn. Here we get the impression that the names are identified from جامع الأصول and the biography was taken from تهذيب الأسماء واللغات.

In addition, the symbols on folios 165^{a}, 165^{b}, 172^{a}, 212^{b} are different from the others in that they are written on the outermost margins of the pages. Although the symbols are the same as the earlier ones, the difference in their location is remarkable.

The part of *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* which includes the indices comprising the *kunya, nisba* and *laqab* was considered as the second part of the work by Kātib Chalabi. Some of the symbols that were used in the first part, which comprises biographies, were also used here. These symbols belong mostly to the following works:

 جامع الأصول

 عيون الأنباء

 طبقات الحفاظ

طبقات الشافعية الكبرى

 عيلم الزاخر

 جعبري

 مسالك الأبصار

 سير أعلام النبلاء

 فذلكة

It is interesting that in addition to places in Islamic geography, some place names in Europe have also been given. Among the geographic names, Sumatra سوماتره, the farthest place in the Islamic World at that time, and places like Corsica قورسقه and Sardinia سردنيه، in Europe have been indicated but no names connected with these places are given.

For example:

إكام: سوماتره ده در،

اولسترو: سردنيه جزيره سنده در،

ايازو: قورسقه جزيره سنده در،

القِلّوري: إلى قلورية، جزيرة بصقلية.

These names are written in alphabetical order and brief explanation about their location is given.

We must admit that there is no clue as to why Kātib Chalabi recorded these names, which are outside the territory of the Ottoman Empire in Europe and outside the environs of the Islamic geography and literature.

1. The Symbols of the First Part

 ایاس = Ibn Iyās, *Badāyiʿ al-Zuhūr*

 تقي = Taqī al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Tamīmī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Saniyya fī Tarādjim al-Ḥanafiyya*

 تنمه =

 تحفة =

 جا = Madjd al-Dīn b. al-Athīr, *Djāmiʿ al-Uṣūl*

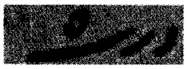
 جعبر = al-Djaʿbarī, *Uqūd al-Djumān fī Tadjwīd al-Qurʾān*

 حسن = al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*

 الحنبلي =

 =

 در الحبب = Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-Ḥabab fī Tārīkh Aʿyān Ḥalab*

 درر = Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*

 رشحه = Ḥusayn Wāʿiz al-Kāshifī, *Rashaḥātu ʿAyn al-Ḥayāt*

 ريب =Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-Arīb*

 ش (س) = Tashkoprī-zāda, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya*

 سيو = = al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*

 سا =

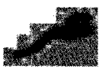
 شهبه = Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*

 ص = al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt*

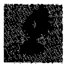
 ض = al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ*

 ط = al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabāqāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*

 عاب = Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb fī Maʿrifat al-Aṣḥāb*

 عبر = al-Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar fī Khabar man Ghabar*

 عيلم = al-Djanābī, *al-'Aylam al-Zākhir*

 ف =

 فذلكة = Kātip Chalabi, *Fezleke*

 ق = al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*

 ك = Kātib Chalabi, *Fadhlaka;* Tashkoprī-zāda, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*

 لتشاه = Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā*

 ل = *Lisān al-'Arab*

 لطائف = Ibn Radjab, *Latā'if al-Ma'ārif fīmā li Mawāsim al-Sanā min al-Waẓā'if*

 م = Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfa*

 نشر = al-Yāfi'ī, *Nashr al-Maḥāsin al-Ghāliya*

 نبلا = al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā*

 نووي = al-Nawawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*

 ته = al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa al-Lughāt*

 وري = İbn Tulun es-Salihî, *İ'lāmü'l-Verā*

يافعي = el-Yāfi'î, *Mir'ātü'l-Cinān*

 هفت = Amīn al-Rāzī, *Haft Iqlīm*

 يف = ?

2. The Symbols of the Second Part

إ =

الحرم =

الح =

الحو =

بط =

بدل =

به =

جا = Ibn al-Athīr, *Djāmiʿ al-Uṣūl*

جعبر= al-Djaʿbarī, *Uqūd al-Djumān fī Tadjwīd al-Qurʾān*

ح =

ر =

س= al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*

سال =

سب =

سجزي =

سح =

سط =

سه =

سو =

سد =

سيو = al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*

ش = Tashkoprī-zāda, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuʿmāniyya*

صح =

ع =

عا =

عح =

عدل =

عدم =

عو =

عول =

عيلم = al-Djanābī, *al-ʿAylam al-Zākhir*

عيو = Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*

فح =

فابي =

فلح =

فه =

فيه =

ق = al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*

قز = Sibt b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*

قط =

 قعه =

 قلا =

 قند = al-Nasafī, *al-Qand*

 قو =

 کا =

 ل =

 لا =

 لب = es-Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*

 لتشاه = Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shu‘arā*

 لح =

 لحح =

 لد =

 لحط =

 لدم =

 لول =

 لط =

 له =

 لو =

 لوم =

 لونب =

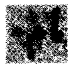
 م = Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Mawrad al-Laṭāfa*

 مای =

 مدل =

 موی =

 ن =

 نام =

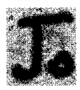
 نب =

 نح =

 نط =

 نو =

 ه =

 هل =

 هفت = Amīn al-Rāzī, *Haft Iqlīm*

 و =

 یا =

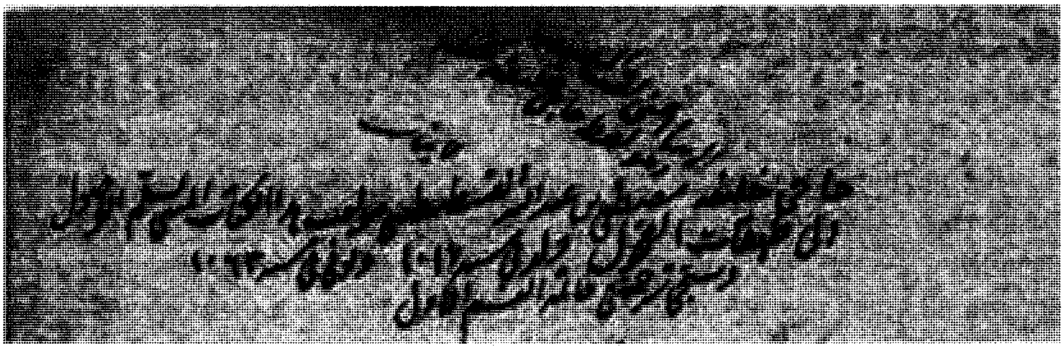
 یب =

 یحر =

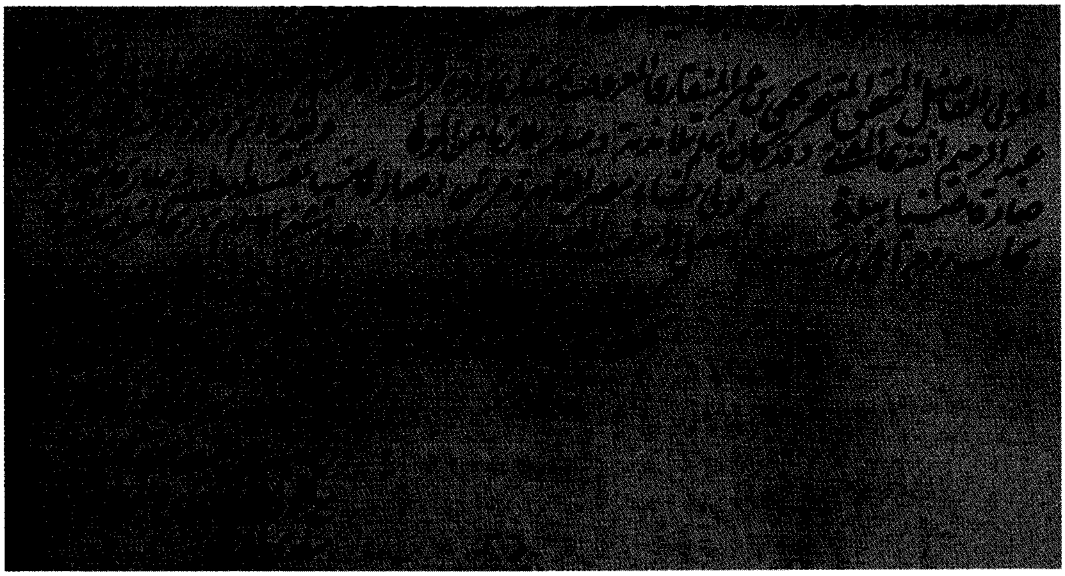
The Method Followed in the Critical Edition

This publication is based on the author's draft copy in the Shahīd 'Alī Pasha Collection, No. 1887, which may be accepted as the only existing complete copy. We compared it with the copy in Cairo National Library, Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pasha Collection, History, No. 52, which comprises the text from the beginning until the item on Bukhtunnaṣr. The biographies no. 476-483 and the introduction were missing in the author's draft copy; these were added from the Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pasha copy. The marginal note on folio 2ᵇ which was related to the text was included while the marginal notes on folios 1ᵇ-2ᵃ were not included as they were not related to the text. We indicated the differences between the two texts in the notes. While indicating these differences in the notes, the author's copy was represented by the word الأصل and the Cairo Muṣṭafā Fāḍil copy by the letter م. The page numbers of the author's copy were given on the right margin in Arabic numerals, while the folio numbers of the Cairo copy were given in the text in Hindu numbers within parentheses. As stated above, the Cairo copy ends on folio 60ᵇ of the author's copy. As for the text after the Bukhtunnaṣr item, we depended entirely on the author's copy and formed the text accordingly; thus we tried to produce a complete and accurate text.

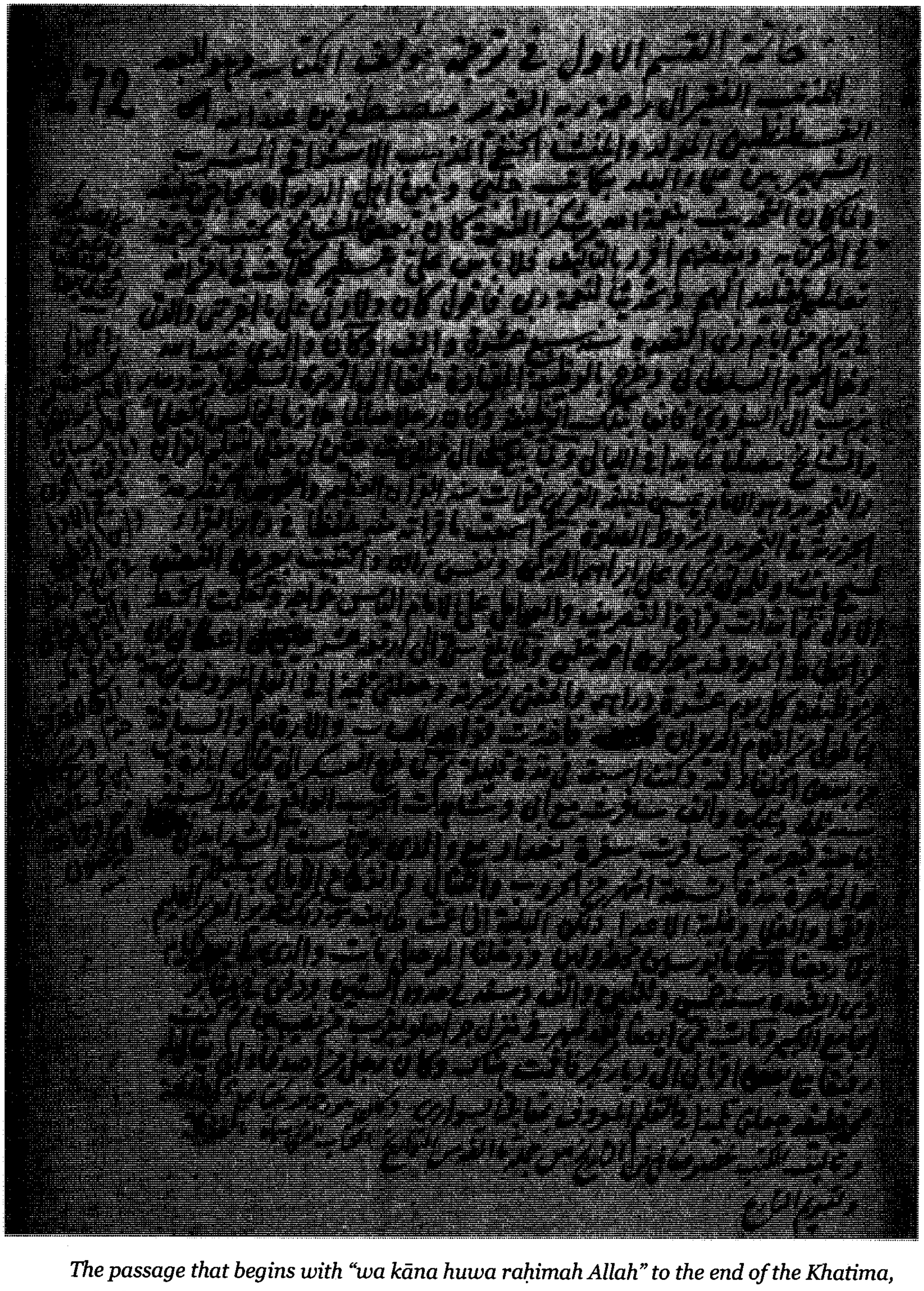
Moreover we checked the information by referring to various sources as well as those mentioned or not mentioned by the author, corrected the erroneously written names, as well as some of the errors in style and expression made by the author. These are indicated in the notes. We did not include the biographies that were crossed out in the draft but included those items which we assumed had been mistakenly crossed out. Some items in the draft copy were repeated. We selected one of them but made the necessary additions to it from the second one. This is indicated in the footnotes. The author did not write the biographies of very famous statesmen and particularly the Ottoman poets; he just recorded their names and pennames as headings. He placed the symbol ك over the headings of these statesmen and scholars. He did not write any symbol over the pennames of the poets. We also included such items. We tried to complete a substantial part of the information about the statesmen, sultans and Iranian shah-nāma with the pertinent material taken from the author's work titled *Fadhlaka* and other sources; about those poets whose pennames are given, from the Ottoman *tadhkiras* and *Qāmūs al-A'lām* of Şemseddin Sami as well as some other Ottoman sources. These additions are in square brackets and the sources are shown in the footnotes. Some items were left as they were. In the draft copy, there are minor additions made in the handwriting of two people other than the author. (See folios 72ᵇ, 262ᵃ and 272ᵃ). As these additions were correct, we included them in this study and indicated their nature in the footnotes.



From Folio 72b: Note written in a different calligraphy indicating the date that Kātib Chalabi died and the name of his book



262a: Biography of Yahyā b. Omar al-Minkārī written in a different calligraphy. It is indicated here that this person died after Kātib Chalabi

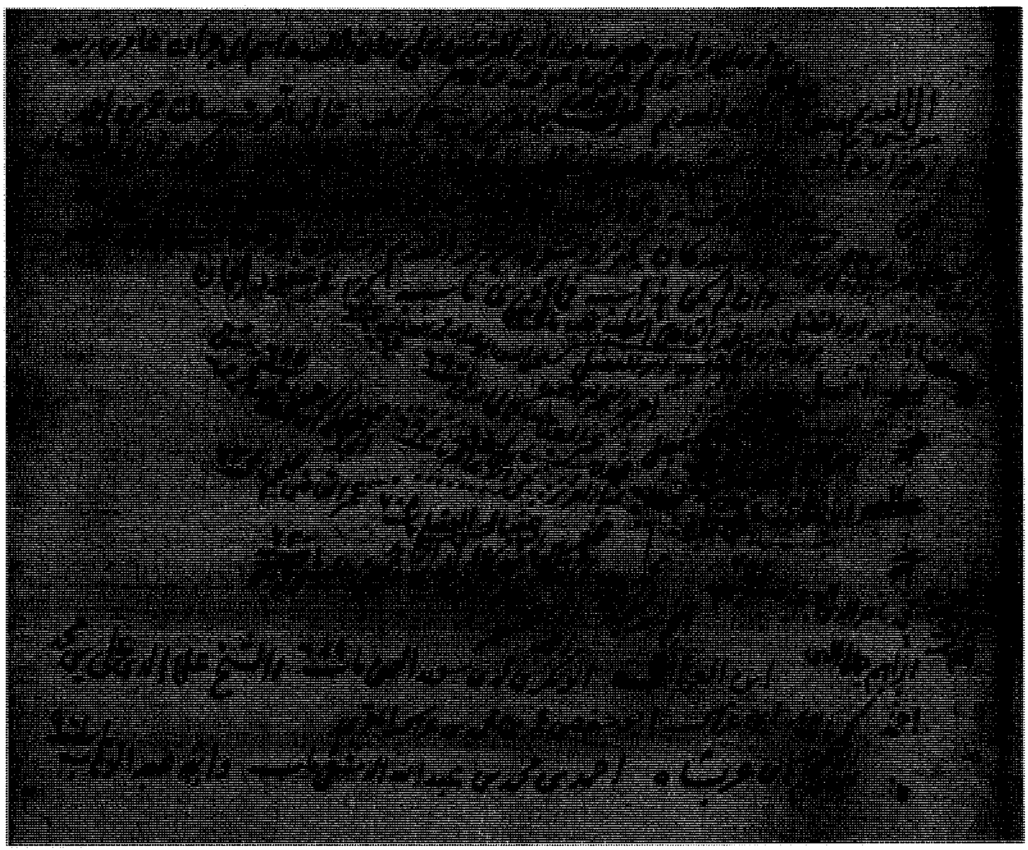


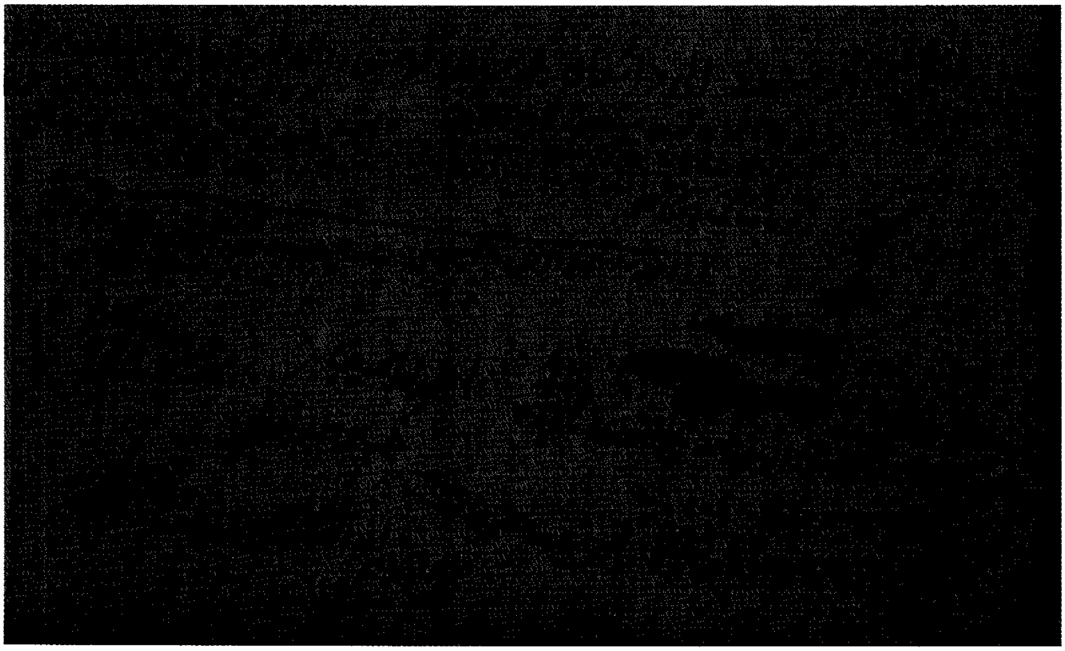
The passage that begins with "wa kāna huwa raḥimah Allah" to the end of the Khatima, which is in the handwriting of Kātib Chalabi, was later added by another person.

It should be noted that the author arranged the biographies in alphabetical order. Only some items at the end of the part belonging to the letter ج do not follow this order. We placed these items in their correct place. In arranging the items alphabetically, Kātib Chalabi did not differentiate between ب، پ but put them together. However, the letters چ and ج have been particularly used in words like *pasha* and *chalabi.*

In the items under *kunya, nisba* and *laqab* in the second part, there are brief references made by Kātib Chalabi to numerous people mentioned in the first part. (See: The Method Used in the Compilation of *Sullam*). We indicated the places of these items in the first part by the consecutive numbers in the footnotes in the second part. Also, additional information is given in the second part about some of the people who are mentioned in the first part. We took this information as it was and indicated the person's place in the first part in the footnotes.

Moreover, all the biographies in the first part and all the people whose biographies are given in the second part have been numbered in sequence. There are a total of 8,561 biographies; 5,542 are in the first part, while 3,019 appear in the second part. Names that are repeated under the *kunya, nisba* or *laqab* are not included in this number. Kātib Chalabi gave the family genealogy of famous scholars in the second part of *Sullam al-Wuṣūl* but tried to fit them in a limited space in haste, leaving some vague points. We tried to correct this information as much as possible by referring to sources; however, some points are still vague. As the names in the genealogy are duplications, they were not enumerated.





Samples of two genealogies that were drawn by Kātib Chalabi in the second part

It is obvious that Kātib Chalabi was not able to go over this work and shape it into its final form as he desired. Some of the biographies of people mentioned in the first part are repeated in the second part with some additions. We indicated these additions and differences in the footnotes. For example: Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Khaṭīb al-Wazīrī appears twice in the first part (see folios 187^{b}, 188^{b}). When the author noticed the repetition, he took the information in the second biography, corrected the date of death, and wrote them over the first biography inscribing "*mukarrar*" (repeated) over the second biography. In the second part, the date of death of the person indicated as "Wazīrī" under the *nisba,* is recorded as 867; But in the first part this date is 870. This is indicated in the footnotes.

To conclude, in writing his great biographical dictionary *Sullam al-Wuṣūl,* Kātib Chalabi benefited from more than 150 sources in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Latin. It is obvious that this work which continued for many years was written parallel with his major bibliographical work *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*. He made a fair copy of the first volume from the beginning to the letter *tā* (ت) but left the rest as a draft, without achieving its final shape. The work mentions the lives and works of more than 8,561 renowned people from every class in Islamic history and literature until the time it was written. In the second part, brief information is given about the *kunya, nisba, laqab,* geographical names and sects.

Sullam al-Wuṣūl also manifests the civilizational unity and cultural richness of the Islamic world. From the biographies provided here by Kātib Chalabi, a work by a Turkistani scholar could be read and used in Andalusia, while that of an Andalusian scholar could be read and used in Turkestan. As the common language of learning was Arabic and education in the madrasas was conducted in

Arabic, a scholar would be able to give lessons, take up a post and be a member of the society in any part of the Islamic world. While carrying out duties as a scholar or judge, he would be able to exchange knowledge with other scholars. This facilitated the circulation of knowledge and culture, as well as that of books.

All these show the similarities existing in cultural approaches, pursuance of science and administrative institutions in the vast geography of the Muslim world.

***